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THE ANAPHORA
OR
GREAT EUCHARISTIC
PRAYER

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An eirenical study in
Liturgical History
by

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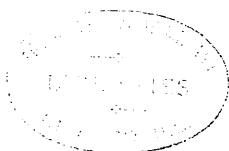
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PREFACE

IT is a dangerous venture to attempt to trace even in outline a development where evidence is as scanty as it is in the most crucial periods of this story.

But fresh evidence, which has come forward during the last fifty years, needs to be estimated, and its results need to be assimilated. So a demand arises for the venture to be made. It is specially necessary because, as it appears now with increasing clearness, there is much surviving, in current popular ideas especially, that in consequence of the new light now needs reconsideration and rectification.

This brief survey of a line of liturgical history tends to show that views became dominant in the 'Dark Ages' which were fathered upon great leaders of the patristic heyday, such as St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, and, most of all, St. Austin, and accepted as theirs. When the Scholastic reawakening began, these views were taken over by a new generation of teachers, strong on the side of philosophy, but lamentably weak on the side of historical science. Indeed, it was not until the Renaissance that historical evidence began again to be seriously taken into account. Reformers, like the Magdeburg Centuriators, collected it; but they were prone to misinterpret it, on theological grounds. Catholics also accumulated it, but they were often debarred by the prevailing dogmatic yoke from gaining adherence to the deductions therefrom. And now, these fifty years, from all quarters the new evidence has been accumulating, and needs to be interpreted.

It has seemed, therefore, to the writer that the moment has come for some revaluation of the principles that govern the form and structure of the Eucharistic Anaphora, so far as they are based upon liturgical history.

That is his excuse for making the venture, now—when there is much awakening in the East; and in the Latin West a strong and realistic Liturgical Movement is in full progress; and when

these are met, contrariwise, in a small but influential part of the Anglican world, by a determined obscurantist and retrograde movement which poses noisily as catholic, but is really anarchist in method though medieval in outlook; for it aims at re-establishing, often in defiance of law, a position which is historically untenable, and a eucharistic theology which was not truly that of SS. Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Austin, but only that of their decadent successors. When too, on the other hand, taking a wider view, we find in the Anglican Communion, whatever be our particular predilections or affiliations, that we are now more ready than we were fifty years ago to revalue traditions of worship which have come to us from the patristic era, from medieval and scholastic times, from Roman or Genevan sources, and from our own chequered experience of four hundred years.

CONTENTS

I. THE ANTECEDENTS OF CHRISTIAN SACRIFICE	1
II. THE EUCHARIST IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE	12
III. TRINITARIAN PRAYER	19
IV. THE EARLY OUTLINE	24
V. THE SUB-APOSTOLIC AGE	29
VI. THE THIRD CENTURY	37
VII. THE HIPPOLYTEAN ANAPHORA	47
VIII. THE COLLECTION OF ANAPHORAS	63
IX. DEVELOPMENT IN THE FOURTH CENTURY	68
X. THE EGYPTIAN EVIDENCE	76
XI. THE INFLUENCE OF JERUSALEM	86
XII. THE RITES OF THE NON-ROMAN WEST. I	
1. Spain and Gaul	94
XIII. THE RITES OF THE NON-ROMAN WEST. II	
2. Africa and North Italy	117
XIV. THE LITURGY IN ROME	134
XV. CAVENDA I-III. Intercessions, Preface, Act of Offering	153
XVI. CAVENDUM IV. Consecration	166
XVII. CONTROVERSY	181
XVIII. THE ENGLISH RITE 1549-1927	195
INDEX	206

SOME ABBREVIATIONS AND TITLES

- A.C.* Apostolic Constitutions, in Funk, F. X., *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 2 vols. (Paderborn, 1905.)
- Atchley, Dr. E. G. C. *On the Epiclesis*. (Alcuin Club, Oxford, 1935.)
- Bruns, H. T. *Canones Conciliorum*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1839.)
- C.S.E.L.* Corpus Scriptorum Eccl. Lat. (Vienna, in progress.)
- D.A.C.L.* Dictionnaire d'Archéologie et de Littérature Chrésiennes. (In progress.)
- Dix, G., *The Apostolic Tradition*. (S.P.C.K. 1937.)
- (ed.) indicates in the index the names of modern editors and writers.
- E.T.* English Translation.
- Eth. Stat. Ap.* The Statutes of the Apostles p. 55.
- G.C.S.* Die Griechischen Christl. Schriftsteller. (In publication at Leipzig, for Berlin.)
- Hipp. *Anaphora of Hippolytus*, see p. 47.
- H.-L.* Hefele-Leclerq, *Histoire des Conciles*, N.E.
- Harduin. *Concilia*. (1715.)
- J.T.S.* Journal of Theol. Studies.
- L.E.W.* Liturgies Eastern and Western, Brightman. (Oxford, 1896.)
- Linton, p. 54, &c.
- L.P.* Liber Pontificalis, ed. Duchesne, 2 vols.
- M.E.L.* Monumenta Ecclesiae Liturgica, vols. i and ii. Reliquiae Lit. Vetustissimae edd. Cabrol and Leclerq. (Paris, 1900.)
- Misc. Ag.* Miscellanea Agostiniana. (Testi i Studi, Rome, 1930.)
- Sermones, ed. Morin.
- Moz. Miss.* Mozarabic Missale in *P.L.* lxxxv.
- N. and F. Neale and Forbes, *Gallican Liturgies*, 105, &c.
- N.E.* New Edition.
- Otto, J. C. T. *Corpus Apologetarum Christianorum*, 8 vols. (1847-61.)
- P.G.* Migne, *Patrol. Graeca*.
- P.L.* Migne, *Patrol. Latina*.
- Prestige, G. L. *God in Patristic Thought*. (1936.)
- R.H.E.* Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique.
- R.B.* Revue Bénédictine.
- Stone, D. *History of the Doctrine of the H. Eucharist*, 2 vols. (London, 1909.)
- S.P.C.K. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.
- T.* Testament of the Lord, p. 55.
- Thiel. *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum*. (Brunsberg, 1868.)
- Tol. Sacr. *Toledo Sacramentary*, 98, &c.

I

INTRODUCTION

WE start upon an inquiry into a certain line of liturgical history not merely because of its interest, but because in our times very practical results may be expected to emerge from it. There are new problems; and there is much fresh light available upon them, which facilitates a revision of the traditional views. We are called upon to come to order at home; and also to guide the worship which is growing up in the mission field. What is there to be gained, for our guidance, from a survey of the past history of our central Act of Worship called 'Anaphora'?

I. THE ANTECEDENTS OF CHRISTIAN SACRIFICE

A very early method of approach to God is through the institution which we commonly call sacrifice. It seems also to have the capacity of being, in one form or another, a permanent one, extending through this life into the eternal life. The ancient Jewish literature has happily preserved for mankind a continuous history of the main line of its development, extending over many centuries. It runs its course through a great tangle of habits and ideas; the Jewish growth has the advantage of being constantly depicted against a background of other and rival systems of sacrificial worship. Thus the line of Jewish evolution is made more abundantly clear. It is seen to supersede steadily the cruder rites, and to advance to the highest power of spiritual significance and value. A worthy tribute is paid by man to his Creator, and *pari passu* the object of his worship is realized to be not any natural phenomena, nor multi-form manifestations, nor evil demons, but the one true God.

Pari passu also there emerged a differentiation of various elements all contained potentially in the simplest act of Sacrifice.¹ Briefly, it was seen to involve at least three several motives

¹ Hicks, *Fullness of Sacrifice*, pp. 9-21.

—propitiation, self-surrender, and communion between God and man. As these conceptions emerged, the intention of the several sacrifices was distinguished, and the performances of the rite, its materials and methods, were specialized in order to correspond with the intention. Specially prominent was the difference which prevailed in the disposal of the victim or oblation that was offered. The Sin-offering was eaten, if at all, only by the priest; the Whole-burnt-offering was not eaten at all, but consumed entirely: the Peace-offering was eaten by all in common, and in it other oblations than an animal victim were prominent, such as flour in the form of cakes, with wine and incense.

Pari passu again came the centralizing movement, which aimed at the suppression of the local shrines and places of sacrifice, and at securing a regular priesthood, and a unique and unrivalled place for the Temple at Jerusalem. The effect of this was to consolidate monotheism. But at the cost (so it seemed) of confining sacrifice to a single spot, which was for the many always unreachable; and became so for an ever-increasing proportion of the Jewish people, as the 'Dispersion' spread wider and wider. But the Temple was, and remained, so long as it lasted, the centre of devout Jewish worship. When once that allegiance had been slowly and at great cost secured, it lasted with a tenacity which defied distance and overcame hindrances. The pilgrimages to Jerusalem from near and far not only perpetuated the bond between the offerer and the altar, but in doing so they also transformed and spiritualized it. The Jew learnt the great lesson of lessons, that, wherever he was, he could worship towards God's holy temple. Moreover, there were some respects in which he could reproduce the treasured associations of the Temple locally in his own place of abode wherever it might be.

The Temple courts were great places of teaching and prayer; and he could make in the Dispersion at least a place of prayer (*προσευχή*), as at Philippi (Acts xvi. 13), even if it were only by a river-side; while those more fortunately situated could have a synagogue built for them locally. The synagogue was in no

sense a rival to the Temple, nor was the synagogal worship either a rival to the sacrificial system or a substitute for it. Rather it was a link with it—a reminiscence of the worshipper's last partaking in it, or a preparation for his next partaking in it.¹

This statement concerns especially the three great feasts when all the people were summoned to attend. For some Jews much more was possible at other times, and more was customary. Those who lived within the limits of Palestine itself could associate themselves with the daily and other sacrifices. The twenty-four 'Courses' of priests who were responsible for the sacrificial round corresponded with the same number of districts in the country; and for every Course there was a *Maamad*—that is, a deputation present in Jerusalem, made up of Priests, Levites, and Israelites. When the turn was come for a Course to go up to the Temple in Jerusalem, the one part went to attend upon the daily sacrifices for its week, while the rest who remained behind came together in their own cities at the times of sacrifice, and followed them, so far as was possible from a distance and from outside the Holy Place. This is the way in which an answer was found to the question, 'How can a man's offering be offered while he does not stand by it?'²

The religious effect of this careful plan was of great importance, because of the change of outlook that necessarily came about within the mind of the devout worshipper following the service in his local place of gathering, or Synagogue. The crudities of the animal slaughtering by the offerer and of the subsequent treatment of the victim's carcass and blood receded out of sight; but the conception of sacrifice, and the enactment of it, remained in a spiritualized form.³ In Jerusalem and also at home, in the company of the faithful the prostrate worshipper

¹ Somewhat like the Christian 'Dry Mass' or ante-communion service, which could take place when the offering of the Christian sacrifice in its completeness was not to be had.

² See *Mishnah* (ed. Danby, 1933), Taanith, 4. 1, p. 199; and cp. p. 794.

³ By a similar process, though probably at a later date, the daily synagogal services became equated with the daily sacrifices in the Temple. (Danby, l.c., pp. 797.)

knew himself to be in the presence of God and joining in the oblation.

When the lot brought to Zacharias, serving his Course in the Temple, the duty of being, for that day, the one to enter within the Veil and offer the incense, it was then not only the multitude praying without in the Temple precincts that was following the sacrifice and praying, but surely also a company in the city or village at home, with Elizabeth among them (Lu. i. 8).

Another spiritual link between the central Temple and the provinces may be traced in the prevalence among the Jews of communal religious meals. The principle runs back to a remote antiquity. To the primitive mind any taking of life implied (in a certain degree) sacrifice, as its apology or justification. Flesh-meat therefore could not be eaten otherwise. For the Jews the strictness of this point of view had been mitigated before the Deuteronomic period (Deut. xii. 20), and the slaying and eating of animal food apart from sacrifice was authorized, provided only that the blood itself was not consumed but was poured out on the earth.

But meanwhile the various conceptions of sacrifice had been differentiated; and in consequence the Common Meal had come to be associated with the various sorts of Peace-offering. Unlike the daily Whole-burnt-offering, these were occasional. They belonged to the set feasts, including the Sabbaths (Ezek. xlvi. 12), and to other great occasions of national joy, such as the Dedications of Altars, or of national crisis, as in war. But they were also and mainly personal in their character, ranging from the consecration of the High Priest to the Vow or 'Free-will'-offering of the simple Israelite. In the latter cases they became a homely affair, closely connected with a family or other group (cp. Acts xxi. 23).

The meal was an integral part of the sacrifice. After provision made for the service at the altar, and for the priest, 'Every one that is clean shall eat thereof' (Lev. vii. 19). Similarly, according to the Mishnah (Zebahim v. 7), the peace-offerings, after slaughter in the Temple court and the due sprinkling of

the blood, could be eaten anywhere in the city by any man, and cooked for food after any fashion, during two days and a night.

It is not clear how far these Common Meals, held in the city itself as part of the sacrifice, were reproduced in the provinces. Among the elaborate rules found in the Mishnah to regulate the dwelling together of several families in one courtyard there is mention of a common eating-hall where as many as five companies might assemble to keep the sabbath (Erub. vi. 6 and elsewhere).

But there are clear indications, growing as time went on, that among the devout people a Common Religious Meal was a familiar institution. At first it was probably purely domestic; but later it seems to have made its way into the synagogues. It was perhaps in connexion with such religious meals that there grew up the custom of anticipating a sabbath or a feast, especially the Passover, by holding such a communal meal, and connecting with it a definite service of blessing wine and bread, distinct from the opening 'Grace' or giving of thanks over the meal in general.¹ As there was no animal victim present, what remained as the material of the rite was mainly the oblation of flour made into bread or cakes, and the wine that accompanied it. It was with these two things that the Kiddush was chiefly concerned.

In fact a religious reaction had begun to set in against the magnificent squalor of the bloody sacrifices, and a demand was gaining ground for an unbloody sacrifice to take their place.²

¹ Oesterley has called attention to these gatherings, called by the general name of 'Kiddush' or Sanctification, and to their significance. See his *Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy* (1925, chapter vi).

² Ἀναίμακτος θυσία or προσφορά. The phrase appears in the *Testaments of the Patriarchs* (Levi iii. 5). The groundwork of this book belongs to the end of the second century B.C. and to Jerusalem. But the passage has been greatly altered and interpolated (ed. Charles, 1908: and his *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ii. 306; Oxford, 1913). *Sibylline Oracles*, viii, 403 (ed. Geffcken, p. 168), a late passage, has the phrase ἀναίμακτος τράπεζα, but without reference to Christian worship. That use of the phrase seems to be not earlier than the Apology of Athenagoras, § 13 (ed. Otto, vii, p. 60), προσφέρειν δέον ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν, dating from c. 176-8. Simultaneously it appears in the Acts of St. Apollonius (*M.E.L.* 4090) (ed. Klette, § viii) as a feature of his Apology.

It expressed itself openly in Philo's teaching, and among the Essenes; and grew further after the destruction of the Temple. For the Jew the atoning significance of the blood of the victim faded, while for the Christian it remained vivid and central, and indeed gathered fresh significance in the commemorative sacrifice of the Eucharist. But in the days of persecution at the end of the second century the Apologists found it hard to explain this to the Romans.

II. THE INSTITUTION

From the beginning to the end of his earthly life Christ was in close touch with both Temple and Synagogue; a discriminating zeal was the prominent feature of his relation both to these centres of the practice of the Law, and to the Law itself. His earthly life ended with a fulfilling of the Law. It could not have been otherwise. The fulfilment was wrought out in two places jointly—in the Upper Room and on Mount Calvary.

At Calvary our Saviour accomplished more than a new and perfect Atonement. He made there, in the breaking of his body and the outpouring of his blood, a new redemption; and a new Covenant, superseding what had been done in the Mosaic dispensation; and he followed up these with a new Commandment of Love. The point at which His 'hour was come' was therefore not the great Day of Atonement and national humiliation but the great Feast of Redemption—the Passover.

In our gospel narratives several strains of the tradition and history are found combined, and it is not always easy to discriminate. It may, however, be taken as assured that when the Fourth Gospel differs as to the day of the Crucifixion from the synoptic tradition, the difference was made deliberately, and to correct a misunderstanding of the case.¹ Correspondingly, there are many difficulties in the way of identifying the Last Supper with the prescribed procedure of the paschal meal itself. It is easier to regard it as having been paschal in character,

¹ Oesterley, *l.c.*, pp. 157 and ff.

association, and intention, rather than in the normal detail of time and rite.

Further, we seem to have received at least two traditions as to the detail of the occurrences in the Upper Room. The earlier is the liturgical tradition that comes through St. Paul, and the later is the narrative on which both St. Mark and St. Matthew depend. The varying Lucan texts seem like a number of attempts to reconcile existing divergences.¹ The Johannine contribution is of a different sort, and will be noticed later.

If, then, we are to think of the Institution as having taken place not on the Passover-Day itself, but in close connexion with it, the Kiddush of the Passover comes naturally into consideration as having a strong claim to be the occasion which our Lord chose and used. Many of the details agree, and some solutions are suggested on this supposition for the problems raised by the divergence of the gospel records.

This cannot be said to have been proved to be the case; but at least there is sufficient probability in the suggestion to make it worth while to mark the close similarities existing between the two—the Kiddush of the Passover and the Institution of the Christian Sacrifice.

As to the former, there has been a reliable and uniform tradition which has kept the observance unchanged in Jewish usage; so the Jewish Prayer-book of to-day² may be taken as evidence of what was customary in a Jewish home of our Lord's time, or in a group such as He had gathered round Him.

Before the sabbath meal, or the approaching festival, the Master of the House recites in the Home a Commemoration of the Institution, i.e. of the Sabbath, or of the feast-day, as the

¹ Verses 10-18 in St. Luke have preserved another form of the tradition; and the Evangelist has prefixed them to the more usual synoptic form, which follows, in verses 19 and 20. In this first Lucan form verse 18 corresponds to 16; similarly verse 15 is the partner of verse 17 and represents the blessing of the bread at the beginning of the meal (perhaps). But the attempts, made by St. Luke, or in his Gospel, to harmonize the two forms of the tradition have obscured the whole passage; and it may be that the knowledge that in the Kiddush the wine came before the bread has added to the ambiguity of detail.

² *Daily Prayer Book* (Hebrew, with translation by G. Singer), pp. 124, 230.

case might be. For the Sabbath—the passage was simply Biblical (the last sentence of Genesis i and the first three verses of the following chapter). Then comes the Blessing said over the Cup:

‘Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who createst the fruit of the vine.’

If the Passover falls on the Sabbath, a special paschal blessing supersedes the ordinary second one of the Sabbath.

‘Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King eternal, who hast chosen us from all peoples, and hast exalted us above all tongues, and hast sanctified us by thy commandments. And thou hast given us in love, O Lord our God, sabbaths for rest, and appointed times for gladness, festivals, and seasons for joy; this sabbath day, and this feast of unleavened bread, the season of our freedom. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King eternal, who hast preserved us alive, and enabled us to reach this season.’

Then follow the words said over the Bread:

‘Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King eternal, who bringest forth bread from the earth.’

The Jewish conception of such forms of blessing must be carefully noted. It is a ‘blessing’ of God, not of any creatures; but it is said over the things. Thus they are hallowed by the Invocation of the divine Name.

It is obvious that this scheme lies much closer to any and all of the evidences in the New Testament than does the paschal meal; where, for example, four cups were required of wine; not one only; and the meal did not precede the paschal blessing but followed it. The Lord’s new use of the single loving-cup is especially to be noted.

But that the Institution was not a normal and familiar Kid-dush the scriptural divergences themselves show, apart from its own distinctive features.

Many and rich were the experiences gathered up by the Apostles in the brief space that extended from the Last Supper to the Crucifixion. The feet-washing, the meal, the blessings

that followed over Bread and Cup, the partaking by all, in a novel significance, from the one Bread and the one Cup, the command to do this as a regular ordinance, a sacrifice of Remembrance or Memorial, the Whole-offering of Calvary. All these experiences must be treasured. But which of them formed precedents that were to be repeated in this New Covenant that seemed to be taking the place of the Old? Here were vital questions to be solved: consider them in turn.

Not the feet-washing. So they must have decided forthwith; for in spite of the apparent explicitness of the Lord's words such a ceremony did not become then, or at any time, a normal part of Church life.

The meal? This soon became dissociated from the 'Breaking of the Bread', though the process by which this came about, and its relation to the meal of the *Agape* in the apostolic times and later, are only very incompletely known to us now.

The two blessings? These in detail do not form part of any of the traditions. No formula of blessing or consecration used by our Lord was preserved; it may be a reasonable supposition that the Blessings said were not unlike the Jewish Blessings quoted above: and the supposition would find some support from early forms of the liturgies such as we have available.

The Administration? Here, on the other hand, the Lord's Words are known. The tradition preserved them, the Gospels preserved them: with the result that they are universally recognized; but they are such as only He could use in administering. Again, therefore, no formula is imposed.

The direction to do regularly what has just been done? Yes, in this there is permanence. It is explicit and wide-reaching.

The sacrifice of Calvary? This, once accomplished, could never be repeated; it is full, perfect, and sufficient.

But the Sacrifice of Thanksgiving and of Remembrance or Memorial? This is a continuance of the old Jewish plan of offering a sacrifice in thankful remembrance of any great event or mercy—a specialized form of the Peace-offering. It therefore provides for carrying out regularly, as the Christian Sacrifice,

what has been inaugurated in the Upper Room, by the 'continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits that we receive thereby'.

The names of the rite¹ descend therefore in part from the terminology of the Law in the Old Testament. In the phrase 'the Sacrifice of Thanksgiving' it is not any words of thanks that form the material of the sacrifice, still less any subjective offering, such as 'a thankful heart'. These are things to be expressed; and the objective sacrifice is the way by which they are expressed. The phrase in the English Rite 'this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving' has misled many, and obscured the reality of the Christian Sacrifice, or reduced it from a corporate Act of Worship to a personal feeling of devotion. The words have an historical meaning, as an Act of sacrifice intended to express thankfulness in its highest terms.²

Similarly in the 'Sacrifice of Remembrance'; it is not an act of memory that makes the material of the Sacrifice. The Christian sacrifice is offered; and meanwhile its special intention is defined through the memorial set forth by the worshipping body in the Anamnesis.

The eucharistic character of the rite, is inherent in the prayers of blessing which compose it. The memorial character is emphasized by the Lord's command, 'Do this in remembrance of Me'.

Jewish rites were full of 'memorials' of many sorts, described by a group of words in Hebrew, variously translated into Greek.³ They explain that certain acts are to be done for a

¹ In its sacrificial aspect the Greeks gave to the rite the name 'Anaphora'—the word used in the Greek Bible (Ps. li. 19) for the acceptable sacrifice. Cp. *A.C.* ii. 59. See Additional Note, p. 27.

² The *זבח תודה*, or *θυσία αἰνέσεως*, is described in Lev. vii. 12-15 and xxii. 29. It is seen in practice during the reforms of Hezekiah in 2 Chron. xxix. 31 and of Manasseh in xxxiii. 16. Cp. Ps. l. 14; also cvii. 22 after storm at sea; and cxvi. 17 after deliverance from bonds. Thence the phrase passes naturally into Christian usage in Heb. xiii. 15, and thence into common Liturgical language with 'Anaphora' to denote 'Eucharistical sacrifice'.

³ Derivatives of *זכר* = 'remember': and in Greek originating the term *ἀνάμνησις*, anamnesis, in its Eucharistic connotation (Lu. xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25). It is probable that the historical psalms, as they are found in the

memorial. Two psalms are prefaced with a rubric to this effect, Psalm xxxviii, *penitential*, and Psalm lxx, *deprecatory*. Pre-eminent among such directions was the one prescribing the keeping of the Passover, Exod. xii. 14. It is in the midst of associations such as these that Christ spoke and the Apostles first heard the repeated and most significant command; which did not destroy the paschal law of Exodus, but fulfilled it.

It must be remembered that previous to the Institution the common meal had been a familiar feature of Christ's intercourse with his disciples. His action in blessing God over the food was well known: it had been extended, for example, to the miracles of the feeding of the multitudes; and therefore it was the action that helped to reveal Him to the disciples at Emmaus or at Cana after the resurrection (Lu. xxiv. 30, 35; Jo. xxi. 13).

How much there was of any definite carrying out at once of the Command given in the Upper Room we can hardly assert. But at least it is significant that the Apostles were assembled in their meeting-place on Easter Day, and again at the eighth day after. Indeed, it was this intercourse, continued during the Forty Days, by the common meal, which confirmed their claim to be His witnesses, 'chosen before of God . . . who did eat and drink with Him after He rose from the dead' (Acts x. 41; and more doubtfully Acts i. 4).

So the 'Breaking of Bread' at home after Pentecost within the new Christian body was the natural extension of the Common Meal, from the inner circle that had been, to the widening circle that was developing.

Psalter, are 'memorials' or 'remembrances' in poetical form: and each is meant to serve as a prelude to a Remembrance-sacrifice.

After the Institution the Church developed in the same way its own Recital of the great events in the Upper Room as the immediate prelude or preamble to the act of Memorial-Sacrifice, which it was told to continue for the future. The typical Memorial-Sacrifice is exemplified in Deut. xxvi, with its offering, its recital of the divine mercies, its Act of Sacrifice, and finally its Invocation of God to look down from heaven and bless.

II

THE EUCHARIST IN THE APOSTOLIC AGE .

FOR our earliest clear comment on the carrying out in the Christian community of the Lord's dying command we have to wait till St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, sent probably in about the year 57; that is a long wait.

Meanwhile, how was the command being carried out?

A picture of the scheme of early-Christian life in Jerusalem after Pentecost is drawn by St. Luke in Acts ii. 4; ii. 41-7; iv. 32-7. It is very general, being written many years after the events and conditions described. Naturally, therefore, it gives little detail about those early and crucially formative years when, under the guidance of the fullness of the Holy Spirit, the Apostles and the whole Church were continually making pioneer decisions, and setting up lasting precedents. But it is clear that, side by side with the worship in the Temple, the 'Breaking of Bread' at home was one of the most notable features of the normal life. The rite was probably both sacramental and communal.

It is at this point that attention must be given to the eucharistic prayers enshrined in the *Didache*. That composite manual has been a great puzzle to inquirers ever since its reappearance in 1883. Our concern is not so much with the little manual as a whole as with the eucharistic prayers which are embedded in it. They seem to come to us from some community of Christians in Judaea which, whether designedly or by accident, has fallen behind, or out of contact with, the advance of the Great Church. Their Jewish character is strongly marked, their quality differs little from that of the Kiddush; indeed they seem to reproduce some early form in which before the end of the first century some Jewish Christians had been accustomed to carry out the Command given by the Lord in the Upper Chamber, blessing the cup and the loaf of bread as he had done.

The precedent that dominated this outlook and custom was

(if this is so) that which rested on the Jewish antecedents. If it failed to become the norm of the future, it failed as all other Judæo-Christian concepts failed, like flowers on the old stem; or fruit, that could not ripen into the new fruit; and consequently withered and disappeared.¹

We are following up another line when we come to our next piece of evidence—St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians. Here we are in very different and much more assured circumstances. The position of the Eucharist in the primitive Church is still obscure, and probably it was in a state of transition which had not yet settled down into uniformity. But some twenty years had passed since the Institution. Meanwhile the Apostle must have become familiar not only with the ideas and usages of the Church in Jerusalem, but also of the Gentile churches which looked to him and to others also as their founders and directors. It is to them rather than to Judæo-Christians that he is addressing himself. His teaching has therefore the significance that belongs to evidence on the high road of progress, as well as the biblical authority which later it acquired by the incorporation of the Epistle into the Canon of the Bible.

Two points especially concern us here. The first is dogmatic; and it illustrates the way in which the truths and mysteries implicit in the Sacrament are, as the Church advances, becoming more explicit.

The Christian Sacrifice is the counterpart of the heathen sacrifices; in each case there is a real communion (1 Cor. x. 14)—a communion with God, or with devils. Therefore partaking in a heathen sacrifice is incompatible with taking part in the Christian Sacrifice.

This incompatibility is fundamental. Not so serious, however, is the eating of some meat which, after having been offered

¹ This is not the place to do more than throw out a very tentative suggestion as to the place in the development of the Eucharist that these prayers may be taken to have occupied. It accounts both for the great respect which Christian antiquity once gave to them, and at the same time for the speedy supersession of these prayers, and indeed of the *Didache* generally, in the actual practice of the growing and developing Church.

in a heathen rite, is sold outside in the market. There is no overt inconsistency there. The Christian conscience may have either more or less scruple about doing so; each man must judge according to the circumstances.

Secondly (1 Cor. xi), it is clear that the Breaking of the Bread is being carried on as a regular ordinance on the Christian Sunday. It follows closely the precedent set at the Institution—in particular, the communal evening meal precedes the memorial Sacrifice of Christ and, no doubt, a number of adaptations were being made to suit the circumstances, in place, pose, administration, and so on. But we learn that all is not orderly in Corinth. Scandals have arisen, such as quarrelling, gluttony, snobbery, and jealousy. Here the Apostle does not, as elsewhere, appeal to the custom of the churches of God. He sets out what he had personally received from the Lord to be, once and for all, the outline-pattern that should govern the usage. There are some things which may stand over until the Apostle can come in person and settle them on the spot—probably the handling of quarrels, personal or liturgical, or the terminating of disputes which did not involve any question of principle. But the great essentials have been already settled by the Lord himself; St. Paul has only to deliver again to the Corinthian communicants the instructions that he gave them previously, as he had received them; and to insist, in writing, upon their observance.

First at the supper came the blessing of the Loaf; it was broken, and all partook of it. After supper came the blessing of the Cup, of which all partook. Our Lord's Words are prescribed for Administration; they announce the significance of the partaking of the Peace-Offering as the Memorial Sacrifice (להזכיר), now transformed into a feeding upon the Broken Body and the Outpoured Blood; and thus they give utterance to the new proclamation of His death, till He comes again. The faithful were looking for His constant return among them, according to His promise; and in the Eucharist they found the assurance of His continual *παρουσία* or presence.

This ordinance of St. Paul became the liturgical tradition

of the Church. When, however, the experience, whether at Corinth or elsewhere, showed the need, the communal meal—as a meal intended for bodily refreshment and the exercise of Christian charity (*ἀγάπη*)—was taken out of this main sacrificial context and held separately, until it dropped out of general use. What remained then in undisturbed possession was the essential Christian sacrifice of the Eucharist—the commemorative sacrifice and the feeding upon it, first the Bread and then the Cup. Thereby the communicant (says St. Paul) proclaims the Lord's death and anticipates His Second Coming.

It is a somewhat different attitude of mind which is stimulated in the Epistle to the Hebrews. This sets out to show the continuity in priesthood and sacrifice which unites the presage of the Old Covenant with the fulfilment which has since been attained in the sacrifice of the New Covenant. There is a difference between these two presentations, not only in idea, but also in regard to the *mise-en-scène*. In the one case the worshipper stands midway between the crucifixion and the return of Christ. In the other case all is being done in the heavenly places. The Victim has become the High Priest; and, entering once for all into the Holy Place, nay, rather, into heaven itself, appears before God for us; while we ourselves, through His new way, are privileged boldly to draw near thither in penitence, faith, hope, and charity, caught up with him and watching for the day that is drawing nigh.

We turn aside for the moment in order to anticipate the Johannine contribution of teaching on the subject, which is rich and important. A tradition of half a century had grown up, and become consolidated, as to the performance of the Lord's command, before the writer undertook his task. There was therefore no need for him to incorporate in his account of Holy Week any further statement of the Institution itself. But there was all the more need for comment and exposition of the great Mystery.

He there includes with his other teaching, both corrective

and supplemental, much that explains and safeguards the rite. This is the case particularly in close connexion with the Institution. The feet-washing teaches the need of preparation: another need, that of reconciliation, is shown by the dealing with Judas and the command of love. The great discourse that follows is full of relevance; for example, it explains the puzzling mystery of Christ's presence and absence, and the compensation given by the coming of the Comforter. The place of intercession in the Sacrament is shown both by precept and also by the great intercessory prayer (ch. xvii). The nature of sacramental union with Christ is shown in the parable of the Vine. The climax is reached in showing forth the essential glory of the atoning Sacrifice.

Both earlier and later in the Gospel there is also much to be gleaned. The living water and the all-satisfying bread are taught by the incidents of chapters iv and vi. Thereupon the long commentary contained in chapter vi follows the miracle of feeding. These are but a few instances from the early part of the Gospel. Later, at the crucifixion, the Body, it is noticed, is not broken, but the Blood of the Victim is outpoured. The sacrificial character is thus emphasized. Further, it is possible that the first part of the Appendix (xxi. 1-14) was added as a representative or symbolic picture of the continuance of the communion ordinance in the Christian Church.

Another and heavenly representation of divine worship is also that which blazes through the Apocalypse of John. Other Johannine writings have given the devotional and theological commentary. Here there is drama, representing to the eye the atoning Sacrifice, and the ordered universal homage in the court of heaven. It presents the argument of 'Hebrews' visualized.

There is nothing contradictory in these three contrasted representations. Rather they are supplementary one to another. The limited and imperceptive human mind, sense, and apprehension, finds it very difficult either to grasp separately, or to hold together, the whole of the rich content.

So men tend to diverge; and their discussions of the deep mysteries sometimes seem to be like a children's game of 'Cross Questions and Crooked Answers'. The questions are so simple, short, and obvious: What? How? Where? Why? When? So concrete, so terribly concrete. And the answers given even to the simplest of them seem so elusive. For example:

Q. WHERE does the action take its place?

A. In the heavenly Places.—*Q.* That sounds remote, inaccessible, and empty. I find it easier to look (as through a squint or hagnoscope) to the altar in church.

Q. WHEN—at what moment—are we to be specially on the alert in order to take our full part in the service?

A. The service is not so much an event occurring to us at a given point of time as an excursion of the congregation into eternity: or an irruption of the eternal which transcends the ordinary mundane limitations and framework.

Similarly the other plain monosyllabic questions are apt to be met with answers derived from another type of mind or tradition or experience which does not satisfy the questioner; sounding, perhaps, as strange to him as the questions did to the one to whom they were put.

In fact, a good deal of eucharistic controversy has always been, and still is, a misunderstanding of this nature. We get to the heart of many such by realizing the contrast, just indicated, between 1 Corinthians and Hebrews.

Q. How can the worshipper hold together at the same time the two apparently discordant conceptions—Christ is the Victim, Christ is the High Priest?

A. To which it may be said: This is one of many Christian paradoxes, which are paradoxical only because of the narrow limits that bound, in this life, both the mind and the soul of man.

The minds that emphasize the work of the priest in celebrating are probably those that (like St. Paul) realize predominantly the death of the Victim and the Cross; and they focus upon the altar, the crucifix as standing on it, and the gifts offered thereupon. Others, on the other hand, with a longer focus, fasten

on to the High Priest and the heavenly places and the offering of the Victim there. These two types of mind ought to coexist in the worshipper: but few men attain to this: and most often the two exist separately, misunderstand one another, and sometimes tend to quarrel, or at least to babble crudely, about different 'schools of thought', without attempting to understand them.

We note, therefore, once for all, that constantly in the course of our historical inquiry such considerations as these will claim to be borne in mind: and probably to be treated as complementary rather than contradictory.

III

TRINITARIAN PRAYER

I

THERE is a continuous tradition of triple form in the building up of Christian worship, whether for prayer, praise, or confession of faith. At the same time, other schemes than this were in common use: in fact, in the earliest days they predominated in bulk, but the triple form marked the formulas of chief solemnity. Insistence on this form became greater as time went on; and with it came a clearer explication of trinitarian theology. The baptismal formula supplies an obvious and familiar example. The full trinitarian form is recorded in Matt. xxviii. 20 as being given and prescribed by our Lord himself; but it stands in the N.T. side by side with other phrases as expressing the 'Name' into which converts are baptized: notably into the Name of Jesus Christ, or of the Lord Jesus (Acts ii. 38; viii. 16; x. 48), while the gift is said to be that of the Holy Spirit (Acts x. 44-8; xix. 2-6).

The story of the Ethiopian's baptism has preserved in some texts (Acts viii. 26-40) a tradition of the formula 'I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God'. Subsequently any non-trinitarian form came to sound unsatisfactory; but as late as the time of Justin Martyr (*c.* 150) the threefold form had not quite superseded the others.

Elsewhere in the N.T. the Holy Spirit is taken to be the operating power in Holy Baptism (1 Cor. xii. 14); and it is noticeable that at Acts viii. 39 the Bezan text reads that, on his emerging from the water the Holy Spirit fell on the Ethiopian, and the Angel of the Lord caught away Philip. This may be the original reading; or, if not, at least it gives an interesting insight into the development of trinitarian theology in its relation to liturgical conceptions and formularies in the early days.

Another good example of the triple form is to be found in the doxologies, ascriptions, greetings, and other formularies of the

same nature. St. Paul normally commemorates the Father and the Son. Only in 'The Grace' (2 Cor. xiii. 14) does he use a salutation that is formally trinitarian. St. John, in the Apocalypse, is led into threefold form at iv. 8 by his reference to the Seraphic Hymn of Isaiah vi; besides, it may be possible in the opening passage (Apoc. i. 4) to interpret the Seven Spirits as having a reference to the Holy Spirit, and so take it as trinitarian.

In the second century the development of the doxology becomes more traceable from the records of the martyrdom of St. Polycarp onward. The full trinitarian form slowly but steadily gains its ground in worship. In the Great Doxology (*Gloria in Excelsis*) we have a formula which originally made no reference to the Holy Spirit: but such a reference was introduced later, when its absence was felt to be a defect which should be remedied. The early texts of the hymn show that this addition was made in two different positions;¹ the former position is at the close of the first section of the hymn. There, just before the second section begins with the address to the Son, at 'O Lord God, Lamb of God', two clauses were added, one to invoke the Son, and give him the title of 'Monogenes'—Only-Begotten; the other, to bring in a simple mention of the Holy Spirit. The alternative position, later in the hymn, at which the reference to the Holy Spirit was introduced, is now the more familiar one, for we have at the end of the hymn, 'Thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost,' &c. We may contrast with this piece of development the case of the *Te Deum*. There the doxology comes in the early position, i.e. at the end of the first section, 'The Father of an infinite majesty,' &c.—and this seems to have been, from the first beginning of the hymn, conceived in full trinitarian form. These two instances must suffice to illustrate further this line of trinitarian development. Eventually the triple doxology was found to be the right way of ending all prayer,² and the *Gloria patri*, in various forms, comes into general use.

¹ D.A.C.L. iv. 1533; Burn, *Introduction to the Creeds*, 266.

² Origen, *Περὶ εὐχῆς*, xxxiii. 1 (G.C.S. ii, p. 401) Καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὴν εὐχὴν εἰς δοξολογίαν θεοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι καταπανυστεύον.

Again, in regard to credal forms the same line is observable. The Christian wishes to express his belief as an apologist for his religion; or, it may be that, as a catechumen, he makes his application for Baptism. He falls naturally into the threefold scheme; and the catechumens do so increasingly as the tide of development moves on. St. Clement and St. Ignatius lead the way.¹ Thus, in one of several such passages, Aristides the Apologist explains that (Christ) is confessed to be the Son of God in the Holy Spirit (*M.E.L.* 792).² Justin Martyr, in a better known passage, says (*M.E.L.* 803): 'Him (God), and the Son who came from Him, and taught us these things, and the host of the other good angels that follow and are like, and the prophetic Spirit, we worship and adore'.³ This is a curious passage; it illustrates the informality of these early statements; but it is explained by another similar passage, where Justin speaks of the Christian belief that 'Our Lord is the Son of the True God, holding the second place, while the prophetic Spirit comes third in order of esteem' (*M.E.L.* 804).⁴

Similarly Irenaeus, as an Apologist, sets forward at the head of his work a statement which is almost indistinguishable from a Baptismal Creed, triple in form, with a dogmatic explication attached to each of the three persons (*M.E.L.* 2181).⁵ So from Apology the Church moved on to Creeds by a natural transition,

¹ See Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, pp. 87 and ff.

² Aristides, *Apologia*, § 15 Οὗτος δὲ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ὑψίστου ὁμολογεῖται ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ. (*Texts and Studies*, vol. i. 1, p. 110, ed. J. A. Robinson.)

³ Justin, *First Apology*, § 6 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνόν τε, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλθόντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπομένων καὶ ἐξομοιουμένων ἀγγέλων στρατόν, πνευμά τε τὸ προφητικὸν σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνούμεν.

⁴ Ibid., § 13 Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν . . . υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὄντως θεοῦ μάθοντες, καὶ ἐν δυνάμει ἔχοντες, πνευμά τε προφητικὸν ἐν τριτῇ τάξει. (ed. Otto, i, pp. 14, 34.)

⁵ Irenaeus, *Haeres.* I. x. 1. Ἡ ἐκκλησία . . . παραλαβούσα τὴν εἰς ἕνα θεόν, πατέρα παντοκράτορα, τὸν πεποιηκότα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰς θαλάσσας καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς πιστὴν καὶ εἰς ἕνα Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸν σαρκωθέντα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας σωτηρίας καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τὸ διὰ τῶν προφητῶν κεκρυμμένον τὰς οἰκονομίας, κτλ.

In contrast with the credal passage in III. iv. 2 [*M.E.L.* 2207]; where the Holy Spirit has been already mentioned as the source of the heathen's belief in God; but yet in the credal passage itself, there is no third clause commemorating and expounding the Third Person.

as the inquiring and the expounding of matters concerning the Christian Faith proceeded. The progress of this credal development is well known, at any rate in its general course, to students of theology. To the ordinary worshipper it easily becomes evident on making a comparison of the Apostles' Creed with the Nicene Creed. The same threefold form is there; explications are added in each section, varying in length and fullness. The second section is in each case more developed than the first. In the third section the Roman (Apostles') Creed has only the briefest profession of belief in the Holy Spirit, with a bare mention of some few points which flow from that belief. On the other hand, the conciliar (Nicene) creed has a comparatively full explication, or definition, concerning the Holy Spirit, of a nature that could only have come into existence after the other explications of the subject had taken place; to which there is appended the short clause that we have already noted as being apparently the earliest of the attributes to become attached to the name of the Holy Spirit, 'Who spake by the prophets'.

It would be only reasonable to expect to find a similar situation with regard to the Eucharistic Canon. One does not anticipate in vain.¹ The Great Prayer, as it arose and settled into Christian use, followed the same threefold scheme, and passed through the same course of growth. But it is to be observed that in this case the growth was necessarily slower, and subsequent; also that, correspondingly, the variety that emerged was, and continued to be, greater. The threefold scheme, when it came into being, grew to be universal at first; but this acquired unity, before long, as time went on, was broken up through disruptive forces in some areas, as the subsequent history will show.

We must there, for the present, leave the consideration of the scheme or form of the prayer and pass on to consider its contents.

¹ The trinitarian form of the Anaphora is clearly shown as early as the two passages of Justin Martyr, as quoted below, pp. 31, 32.

The object of our liturgical inquiry is first to assure ourselves from past history what, both in form and content, have been the precedents which it would be wisest to follow in framing a liturgy for a young church, growing up in the mission field, men with habits of mind and spiritual capacities which may be very different from those of their British missionary teachers, and requiring a congruous form of worship. Also the inquiry should throw light on the problem of our own revision at home.

IV

THE EARLY OUTLINE

‘THE Eucharist ever was, and by us is considered, both as a sacrament, and as a sacrifice.’¹

This statement of the great Bishop Lancelot Andrewes, in his Answer to Cardinal Perron’s *Replique à la Response du Roy*, may well serve as a starting-point for any revision to be made, or considered, of the eucharistic liturgy that has come down to us in the Caroline Book of Common Prayer (1662).

The centre of gravity of the Eucharistic Prayer (called *Anaphora*, *Canon*, or Consecration Prayer)² is the sacrificial act which Christ commanded to be repeated in commemoration of Himself.

Every sacrifice in its essence is a rite which brings the worshipper into gracious contact with his deity. The Eucharist, growing out of the sacrificial system of the Jews, superseded it, being the New Rite of Christians (Heb. vii. 19; viii. 6; ix. 11–15, 24, &c.)—their approach through Christ, in the power of the Holy Spirit to God.

This crucial part of this Anaphora, or central prayer, takes its name—*ἀνάμνησις*, Anamnesis = ‘commemoration’—from the narratives of the Institution in the New Testament. Subordinate only to this Act in importance are—first, one section which precedes it, and then two sections which follow it. The first (1) is the Recital of the accumulated mercies of God. This, preceding the central Act of Sacrifice, is in the form of a long Preamble, rehearsing at length the grounds for thanksgiving, and finally quoting in full the Church’s scriptural authority for what it is about to do. Following it, (2) and after the Act of Sacrifice, comes the prayer for the acceptance of it, and other allied petitions. (3) Thereafter, thirdly, there follows the Act of

¹ *Minor Works*, in the ‘Library of Anglo-catholic Theology’, p. 19.

² See Additional Note p. 28.

Communion, which completes the Sacrifice and seals the union of the worshipper with God. Thus we have in outline before us a brief survey of the necessary contents of the prayer, as the Church has taught it to us, and as it must be envisaged to-day afresh in any catholic plan of settlement or revision which is to be made in the light of past tradition.

The Preamble, then, will begin with a mutual salutation between celebrant and people (*The Grace, &c.*); the *'Sursum corda'* (*Lift up your hearts*), and so on; *'Let us give thanks . . .'* *'It is meet and right so to do'*, leading on into the enumeration of the mercies for which God is blessed and the eucharistic thanks are given. These are recited in more or less detail: especially Creation, Incarnation, and Redemption. This rehearsal of past mercies proceeds briefly up to the point of the Institution of Holy Communion, where it naturally enlarges into a full citation of the biblical tradition, as given by the Synoptic Gospels, and the liturgical tradition as given by St. Paul. This Preamble being ended, the operative section of the Sacrifice is due to follow. It does so normally with a rapid passage which resumes the rest of Christ's saving work—in His death, burial, resurrection, and ascension—to which is often added an anticipation of His Second Coming. Then at the climax, the Anamnesis having been made, the Sacrifice is offered, the Lord's last behest before His death is carried out.

Following the supreme Act of Sacrifice, it is at this point, which is the natural one in the credal order, that there comes the commemoration of the Holy Spirit in some form; and thus the threefold balance is preserved, and the prayer asserts its trinitarian character. More must be said later concerning the adoption and development of this third division of the threefold prayer.

From it the action passes on to (3) the preparation for the Act of Communion itself by a series of petitions, culminating in the saying of the Lord's Prayer, which follows or closes the Eucharistic Canon.

These, then, set out in brief, are the required contents of the Prayer as they have come down to us from very early times. The uniformity of the early general outlines is very remarkable. It is, however, only deducible from a comparison of a large and very widespread set of similar formulas, which do not themselves go back to those early times. For the whole of two centuries we have no actual surviving Eucharistic Anaphora or Canon. In this formative period we have to content ourselves as best we may with what we can glean from brief patristic allusions and summary descriptions.

The Apologists in the second century were (naturally enough, in addressing the heathen) very reticent on this subject. Moreover, the prayers and services framed on this early outline or norm were slow to crystallize into set phrases. The general scheme was settled; but the details for a long time were left to the discretion of the celebrant, that is the Bishop.

It must not be forgotten that the liturgical scheme given by St. Paul already differs in some respects from the narrative account given by the Synoptic Gospels. Indeed, they differ somewhat among themselves. As the Christian rite detached itself from the Jewish rite, out of which the Lord evoked it, inevitably some changes came about from the altered circumstances. For example, the blessing of the Bread and of the Cup were brought together, instead of being separated: again, when the *Agape* was put separate from the Eucharist, the reception of the Holy Sacrament in the two Kinds thereupon came nearer, and followed close to one another, instead of taking place one during, and the other after, the Supper. In these and in other minor respects already, from apostolic times, the liturgical observance, while it reproduced, did not slavishly imitate the Institution of the Lord's Supper as it took place in the Upper Room on Maundy Thursday.

But the norm is settled: (i) Preamble with Recital of the Institution; (ii) Act of Eucharistic commemorative Sacrifice with the Anamnesis which Christ ordered: (iii) Act of Communion

and partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ, as He administered them.

For this central Act of Sacrifice the heathen world was fully prepared; and the Jewish world still more so. The great component motives of sacrifice were already distinguished and familiar—the eucharistic, the propitiatory, the commemorative, and the communal. So the Christian Sacrifice could go naturally forward, in Thanksgiving, while pleading the Propitiation wrought through the Cross of Christ, in commemorating the whole of the Saviour's life and achievement, and in establishing for the offerers through their Communion a supernatural union with God, and through Him with one another, at the command of the Lord and in the power of the Holy Spirit.

As all this emerged, the Liturgy itself took shape, silently and in a course that is mainly untraceable in detail by us, for lack of fixity in the rite and of evidence about it. The instructions given to the initiates were still being kept private; no controversy breaks the silence. St. Paul had set the observance of the details in order. It is only from scattered words that we can now fill in the already established outline, so as to show how the development was taking place during those two silent centuries.

Additional Note

In using the familiar Anglican term 'Consecration Prayer', the relation of 'consecration' to sacrifice, or offering, needs first to be clarified in the mind of the worshipper. Properly speaking, it seems that consecration, making holy, or hallowing, is the result of the gift being offered by man to God, and accepted by Him, and being thereby endowed with some measure of divine character, or grace (Prestige, 21). If this is so, then consecration, in the proper sense of the term, depends upon the Act of Offering, is inseparable from it; and, if any regard is had to time, is to be thought of as subsequent to it.

This Act of Sacrifice and its acceptance are therefore of vital importance to any view of the Sacrament which recognizes that it involves some sort of consecration.

Consecration being thus made plain in the thought of the worshipper, he must clear his mind also as to what is the effect on the gifts of the divine character or grace thus imparted to them. In any case it

is a hallowing; in the realist view, which catholic doctrine maintains, it is a transformation also of the bread and wine to be the Body and Blood of Christ. That this should be especially associated in the Anaphora with the work of the Holy Spirit is congruous with all the rest. It is the right thing, and in the right place.

The Western mind must come back again to realize this.

Transformation is no essential part of 'consecration' in general: many things are consecrated but not transformed thereby. But it is involved in the eucharistic consecration. This is what the Dominical Words of Administration make sure to the communicant; and all orthodox Christians in some real sense believe.

The term 'Anaphora' deserves some explanation. The verb ἀναφέρειν is commonly used in the Septuagint for offering a sacrifice. It passed into Christian use, and the substantive with it, first as a general term (Origen, *In Evang. Joh.* vi. 33, 34); then as meaning the liturgy (*A.C.* II. lix. 4; VIII. xlvii. 3); and finally as the technical term for the central part of it as said by the celebrant. This restricted use is not quite satisfactory, for the sacrifice includes (1) the Offertory προσφορά (prospora), as distinguished from (2) the Anaphora, and also (3) the Communion of the Offerers. But it is this restricted use which is familiar and which concerns us here.

The story of 'Canon' is different. In the Latin-speaking world, and subsequently in Rome, from the third to the sixth century, the word used was 'prex', representing εὐχή (cf. pp. 31², 41^{2.4}, 42¹). This term harmonized with the view that the consummation of the sacrifice depended on the prayer as a whole. But as the alternative view, that it depended on the recitation of certain Dominical Words, gained ground in the West, the term 'prex' went out of favour and the non-committal word 'Canon' took its place as the title of the Roman equivalent. Pope Innocent, in 416, was still using 'prex' (*Ad Decent. P.L.* xx. 553). To find the earliest available evidence of 'Canon' we must come down to Pope Gregory's letter (598) in defence of his innovations. (*P.L.* lxxvii. 956.) An intermediate stage is shown, however, in the use by Pope Vigilius (537) of the phrase 'Canonica prex'. (*Ibid.* lxix. 18; see p. 99.)

V

THE SUB-APOSTOLIC AGE

A FEW of the scattered words and phrases of sub-apostolic times must here be cited for the gleams of light that they throw on the growth of the Canon in form and content.

The worshipping church is thus depicted by St. Clement (*circa* 95); and the stage is thus set for the Eucharistic sacrifice¹ (*M.E.L.* 637, 640, 643, 653, 654).

'This is the way, dearly beloved, wherein we found our Salvation, even Jesus Christ, the High Priest of our offerings, the Guardian and Helper of our weakness. Through Him let us look steadfastly unto the heights of the heavens, &c.' (*Ad Corinth.* xxxvi).

The enjoined offerings and ministrations are to be performed with care and at their appointed seasons by high-priest, priest, levite, and layman, each in his proper sphere (*ibid.* xli).

The bishop's part (we note) is to offer the gifts (*ibid.* xliv).

'For as God liveth, and the Lord Jesus Christ liveth, and the Holy Spirit, who are the faith and hope of the elect, so surely shall he who . . . hath performed the ordinances and commandments that are given by God, be enrolled and have a name among the number of them that are saved.' (*Ibid.* lviii, p. 82.)

And St. Clement's description closes with his great Prayer of Intercession and Commemoration, which seems to bring us almost within hearing distance of the Liturgy itself (*ibid.* lix-lxi): but not quite.

It is against such a background as this that we are to place many a brief reference in the Epistles of Ignatius (*circa* 110). E.g.

'If any one be not within the precinct of the altar, he lacketh the bread [of God].' (*Eph.* v, ed. Lightfoot, p. 138.)

'Do your diligence therefore to meet together more frequently for thanksgiving (*εὐχαριστία*) to God and for his glory.' (*Ibid.* xiii.)

'Assemble yourselves in common, every one of you severally,

¹ Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, English Version (ed. Harmer, 1893).

man by man in grace . . . breaking one bread, which is the medicine of immortality, and the antidote that we should not die, but live for ever in Jesus Christ.' (Ibid. xx.)

'Grant that I may be poured out a libation to God, while there is still an altar ready; that forming yourselves into a chorus in love ye may sing to the Father in Jesus Christ.' (Rom. ii; *ibid.* 150.)

'I desire the bread of God, which is the flesh of Christ, who was of the seed of David; and for a draught I desire His blood, which is love incorruptible.' (Ibid. vii.)

'Be ye careful therefore to observe one eucharist; for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup unto union in His blood; there is one altar, as there is one bishop, together with the presbytery and the deacons my fellow-servants.' (*Philad.* iv; *ibid.* 154.)

With such words as these we seem to be plunged into the middle of a great act of worship and communion, waiting till we can have it explained to us.

Early in the second century (*circa* 112) Pliny, cross-questioning, as governor of Bithynia, the Christians arrested as law-breakers, seems, from his report to the Emperor (Pliny, *Letters*, x. 96) to have got at the heart of the matter. They had assembled, he found, to join together in adoring Christ as God.¹ No mention is made of communion: only that there was held at a later hour a communal meal which was quite unobjectionable and had since been given up. The magistrate reported that, so far from breaking laws or outraging morals, they solemnly pledged themselves to maintain them: and emphasized that the worship of their God was the object of their gathering.

Further in the second century the chief pieces of available evidence come from Justin Martyr (his *Apology* and his *Dialogue with the Jew Tryphon*) and from Irenaeus (his *Refutation of Heresies*). Justin was a Palestinian from Shechem, who came to Christianity through philosophy; he made his way to Rome

¹ 'Carmen Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem.' The use of the word *carmen* is to be noted, for it was in regular use at this period to describe a religious formula or a magical incantation. This, therefore, more than hymn-singing is intended here. See an example of its use later in St. Austin's time (p. 120), and cf. *Moz. Liber Ordinum*, col. 281.

and set up a School there in which he persevered till the authorities intervened, and put him to death (*circa* 150). He, as a philosopher, addressed his First Apology to Marcus Aurelius as a fellow philosopher. Incidentally he gave in it an illuminating account of Baptism and of Holy Communion following it: and then of the Sunday worship. The detail is not given; but in the former passage a general description of the President's great prayer, after receiving the bread and the cup of wine and water which have been brought in, runs thus:

'He offers up praise and glory to the Father of all things, through the name of His Son and of the Holy Ghost, and makes thanksgiving (εὐχαριστία) at length for that we are granted such things from Him. And when he has finished the prayers and thanksgiving, every one present responds *Amen*.' (c. lxv, ed. Otto, i, p. 154.)¹

The account of Sunday worship, which follows later on, is much more reticent as regards the great prayer; and adds nothing to our knowledge of it (c. lxvii).

But meanwhile, in cap. lxvi,² there is an illuminating commentary given on the spiritual significance of the whole action.

'This food is called by us eucharist (εὐχαριστία)': [it is restricted to baptized believers]. 'For we do not receive the bread or

¹ "Ἐπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος καὶ ποτηρίον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος· καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν, αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὁλῶν διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἀναπέμπει, καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιῶσθαι τούτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολλὴ ποιεῖται. οὐ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων, Ἀμήν. (Justin, *Apol.* i. lxv.)

² Καὶ ἡ τροφή αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν εὐχαριστία, ἥς οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ μετασχεῖν ἐξόν ἐστιν ἢ τῷ πιστεύοντι ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ δεδιδαγμένα ὑφ' ἡμῶν, καὶ λουσαμένῳ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ἀναγέννησιν λουτρόν, καὶ οὕτως βιώντι ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς παρέδωκεν. Οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν· ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῖν καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγον τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαρισθηθεῖσαν τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.

οἱ γὰρ ἀπόστολοι ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ᾧ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλιον, οὕτως παρέδωκαν ἐντετάλθαι αὐτοῖς· τὸν Ἰησοῦν λαβόντα ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησίν μου· Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου. Καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὁμοίως λαβόντα καὶ εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου. Καὶ μόνοις αὐτοῖς μεταδοῦναι. (Ibid. c. lxvi.)

It is significant that the 'word' is referred first and foremost to the command Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, and only later to the words Τοῦτό ἐστι κτλ. And so again in the succeeding note Justin's reference is to Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε.

drink as ordinary food or ordinary drink; but, as by the word of God Jesus our Saviour was made flesh, and had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so also the food that was blessed by the prayer of a word which proceeded from him, and from which our flesh and blood by assimilation receives nourishment, is, we have been taught, both flesh and blood of that same Jesus who was made flesh.

‘For the apostles in the memorials called Gospels which they made, recorded that they were given commandment thus; That Jesus took bread, and gave thanks, and said “Do this in remembrance of Me; this is My body.” And likewise, after taking the cup and giving thanks, he said “This is My blood”, and he distributed it only to them.’ (c. lxvi.)

Then, after referring to the mysteries of Mithra as being similar, he continues:¹

‘We from that time forward always make this remembrance among ourselves. We who have the means assist those in want and we always keep together.

‘Over all our offerings we bless the Maker of all things through His Son Jesus Christ and through the Holy Ghost.’

Justin speaks for Palestine, Asia, and Rome: he is reticent, naturally, in writing for the heathen: but there are some points which, even so, are made surprisingly clear.

1. The reference to the parallel of the Mithraic mysteries shows in what connexion the Christian rites are to be understood: they are sacrificial mysteries.

2. The recitation of the Institution as authority for what is done and explanation of its significance is unexpectedly direct and open. The Christian rite is memorial of this.

3. The Dominical Words of administration cited are the evidence of the reality of a change which has been brought about in the bread and wine. No explanation is offered; for, as elsewhere, in early days this belief was taken as a postulate, not as needing proof or even explanation. But a suggestive parallel

¹ ἡμεῖς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα λοιπὸν ἀεὶ τούτων ἀλλήλους ἀναμνησκόμεν. Καὶ οἱ ἔχοντες τοῖς λειπομένοις πᾶσιν ἐπικουροῦμεν, καὶ συνέσμεν ἀλλήλοις ἀεί.

ἐπὶ πᾶσὶ τε οἷς προσφερόμεθα εὐλογοῦμεν τὸν ποιητὴν τῶν πάντων διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ διὰ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου. (Justin, *Apol.* c. lxvii.)

is brought forward: the incarnation was effected through a word of God (διὰ λόγου θεοῦ); and similarly through a word of prayer (δι' εὐχῆς λόγου) coming from Him the consecrated (εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν) food is (we are taught) His flesh and blood.

Later on Justin wrote (besides a second Apology) a long Dialogue to confute Trypho's Jewish ideas. Naturally enough, in this connexion he lays great stress on the point that the Eucharist is the Christian sacrifice, and as such is acceptable to God from the Gentiles. For example:

The meal-offering made at the cleansing of a leper he takes to be 'a type of the bread of the Eucharist' which we offer in remembrance of the passion. . . . (*Dial. Tryph.* xli. 1 (cp. lxx. 4); Otto, p. 134.)

The sacrifice of the gentiles, to which the Prophet Malachi refers, God long ago declared acceptable, 'that is to say the bread of the Eucharist and likewise the cup of the Eucharist.' (*Ibid.* xli. 3, 4; cp. cxvii. 1.)

At the former point St. Justin (like St. Clement) seems to run on into a passage which resembles the phraseology of a 'preface' in the Anaphora.

'Jesus Christ our Lord ordered us to do this in remembrance of the passion which He suffered for those who are being cleansed in soul from all evil, in order that we should thereupon give thanks to God for having created the world and all that is in it for man's sake, and also for having freed us from the misery in which we had been, and for having destroyed completely the principalities and powers, by means of Him who became capable of suffering according to his purpose.' (*Ibid.* xli. 1.)¹

St. Irenaeus carries on the teaching of Justin, following it, but going beyond it. Moreover, he brings in his evidence to us from a new area; for, though his early days were spent in Asia (where he was a disciple of St. Polycarp), he had migrated to Lyons by 177, where later he became bishop, and probably died a victim

¹ εὐχαριστῶμεν τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ τὸν κόσμον ἐκτικέναι σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας ἐν ᾗ γεγόναμεν ἡλευθερωκέναι ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας καταλελυκέναι τελείαν κατάλυσιν διὰ τοῦ παθητοῦ γενομένου κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτοῦ. (*Justin, Dial.* xli.)

of persecution. There is also a difference of outlook; for his chief work is a *Refutation of Heresies* (only incompletely preserved): and besides this there has been recently recovered from an Armenian version his *Demonstration of the Apostolic Teaching*, which is a short manual describing the Christian Tradition.¹

He constantly argues in his Fourth Book against the heresies from the reality of the eucharistic body and blood of Christ, as postulate, to some conclusion which the heretics ignore or deny—such as the possibility of immortality. He recounts our Lord's institution, quoting His words and command.

The disciples are to offer to God their first-fruits, though He needs them not: and He Himself took of them bread and gave thanks saying, 'This is My body', and likewise the chalice He attested to be His blood; and taught the new oblation of the new covenant, which the Church, receiving it from the Apostles, offers to God all the world over.² (*M.E.L.* 2217.)

Later on another argument to the same purpose is based on the Eucharist.

Our bodies are nourished by the body and blood of Christ, how then should our flesh turn to corruption and not have life. The Eucharist and the doctrine of eternal life go together.

'We bring to Him of His own with a suitable declaration of communion and unity, and confessing the resurrection of flesh and spirit. For as bread from the earth on receiving the invocation of God is no longer ordinary bread, but Eucharist, combining two things, the earthly and the heavenly, so our bodies receiving the

¹ J. A. Robinson; St. Irenaeus, *The Demonstration* (S.P.C.K. 1920), § ii.

² 'Sed et suis discipulis dans consilium primitias deo offerre ex suis creaturis non quasi indigenti sed ut ipsi nec infructuosi nec ingrati sint, eum qui ex creatura panis est accepit, et gratias egit dicens "Hoc est meum corpus". Et calicem similiter qui est ex ea creatura quae est secundum nos, suum sanguinem confessus est: et novi testamenti novam docuit oblationem, quam ecclesia ab apostolis accipiens in universo mundo offert deo, ei qui alimenta nobis praestat, primitias suorum munerum in novo testamento.' (Irenaeus, *Heresies*, iv. xvii. 5 (Massuet), Harvey, ii. 197.)

The enumeration of the chapters varies in Irenaeus: Massuet's (M) is also Stieren's, and is in *P.G.*: and it is noted as alternative by Harvey (H).

The passage is very reminiscent of an Anaphoral form.

Eucharist are no longer mortal but possess the hope of our resurrection to Eternity.’¹ (*M.E.L.* 2227.)

It was natural for Irenaeus to assume agreement on the reality of the worshipper’s participation with the god; for that was a recognized part of the sacrificial outlook: and he pushes the argument further against the heretics thus:

‘How can they (you) maintain that the bread over which thanksgiving has been made is the body of the Lord and the chalice of His blood if they do not admit that it is through Him, the son of the Maker of the World, that is His Word, that the tree bears fruit and the waters flow.’² . . .

But he also expounds the difference between the Church’s sacrifice and those of the Jews and the distorted sacrifices of the heretics. The Jewish ones are wrong because they received not the Word through whom the oblation to God is made; and those of the heretics because of their false view of the Creator. (*M.E.L.* 2225; *M.* iv. xviii. 4; *ibid.* H. ii, p. 203.)

The Christian Sacrifice is offered not to fulfil any need of God, but in obedience to the command to offer sacrifices as the Word directed the people, and in order that they might learn to serve God; for to that end He wishes that they should regularly and often offer a gift at the altar. (*Ibid.* *M.* iv. xviii. 6; *H.* ii. 209.)

Such passages as these show the way in which during his *Refutation of the Heresies* the beliefs of St. Irenaeus about the Eucharist emerge incidentally: for as yet there was general agreement rather than any controversy on that subject, because it was a recognized part of the prevailing conception of sacrifice.

The three points to be seized are: (i) the reality and supremacy of the sacrifice, (ii) the reality of eucharistic transformation, (iii) the tentative explanations given of this such as these:—

¹ Προσφέρομεν δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ ἴδια, ἐμμελῶς κοινωνίαν καὶ ἔνωσην ἀπαγγέλλοντες, καὶ ὁμολογοῦντες σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος ἔγερσιν. ‘Ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβανόμενος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν (ἐπίκλησιν) τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστίν, ἀλλ’ εὐχαριστία, ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα, ἐπιγείου τε καὶ ἐπουρανίου, οὕτως καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν μεταλαμβάνοντα τῆς εὐχαριστίας μηκέτι εἶναι φθαρτά, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰς αἰῶνας ἀναστάσεως ἔχοντα. (*M.*, *ibid.* iv. xviii 5; Harvey, ii. 205.)

² πῶς δὲ αὐτοῖς γνωσθήσεται τὸν εὐχαριστήθεντα ἄρτον σῶμα εἶναι τοῦ Κυρίου αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον αἷμα αὐτοῦ, εἰ μὴ αὐτὸν ἀποφάνοιντο υἱὸν τοῦ τὸν κόσμον πλάσαντος, τοῦτ’ ἐστὶν λόγον αὐτοῦ, δι’ οὗ ξύλα καρποφορεῖ καὶ πηγαὶ βλύζουσι. (*M.*, *ibid.* iv. xviii. 4 and the note in Stieren, p. 617; Harvey, ii. 204.)

in one place—receiving the invocation of God. (iv. xviii. 5.)
 in another—it depends upon the Son of the Creator, that is, His
 Word. (iv. xviii. 4.)
 in a third—it ‘receives the Word of God’. (*M.E.L.* 2242.) (v. ii.
 2, 3.)

In the first the reading is doubtful—*ἐκκλησιν* or *ἐπίκλησιν*: but in any case this word has still a general connotation and has not yet acquired the technical character which came to it later, of ‘An invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the communicants, or upon the elements for their transformation, or upon both’.

This third description comes from a passage which argues from the belief in the Eucharist to the Incarnation.

‘Since therefore both the mingled cup and the made bread receives the Word of God, and the Eucharist becomes Body of Christ, and from these things our fleshly nature grows and subsists, why not accept’ what we maintain.¹

In this period, and for Irenaeus, the Word is the intermediary through whom the Father acts: the Holy Spirit is the agent of the Word, and is not Himself God, though after the Nicæan Council (325) the development of theology² was rapidly to go forward in this matter as the Macedonian heretics also, like the Arians, came to be condemned.

¹ Ἐπειδὴ μέλη αὐτοῦ ἔσμεν καὶ διὰ τῆς κτίσεως τρεφόμεθα, τὴν δὲ κτίσιν ἡμῖν αὐτὸς παρέχει . . . τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως ποτήριον αἶμα ἴδιον ὡμολόγησεν ἐξ οὗ τὸ ἡμέτερον δεύει αἶμα, καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς κτίσεως ἄρτον ἴδιον σῶμα διεβεβαιώσατο, ἀφ’ οὗ τὰ ἡμέτερα αὖξει σώματα. Ὅποτε οὖν καὶ τὸ κεκραμένον ποτήριον, καὶ ὁ γεγωνῶς ἄρτος ἐπιδέχεται τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ γίνεται ἡ εὐχαριστία σῶμα Χριστοῦ, ἐκ τούτων δὲ αὖξει καὶ συνίσταται ἡ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν ὑπόστασις, πῶς δεκτικὴν μὴ εἶναι λέγουσι τὴν σάρκα τῆς δωρέας τοῦ θεοῦ, ἥτις ἐστὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Κυρίου τρεφόμεν, καὶ μέλος αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχουσιν; (*M.*, *ibid.* v. ii. 2, 3; *Stieren*, p. 717; *H.* ii. 319.)

² *Prestige*, pp. 80 and ff.

VI

THE THIRD CENTURY

WE have been engaged with the Greek-speaking churches of the West, and before long we must revert to them. But what has the Latin world to offer for illumination of the darkness prevailing on this subject in the second century? Very little. The African Church extended along the south side of the Mediterranean as far east as Cyrenaica, comprising the three provinces of Mauretania, Africa proper, and Numidia. It had made a dramatic entry into Christian history with the Acts of the Scillitan martyrs (180). Development was rapid, and by the end of the second century a Latin theology began to take its place side by side with the Greek tradition. A character of its own came to it from its founder, the lawyer Tertullian, whose outlook was philosophical and legalistic. It was therefore only incidentally to his brief that he let fall any ray of light upon the Eucharist—as, e.g. that the faithful received Holy Communion in their hands, or reserved it for future consumption.

He is clear, however, as to the Christian sacrifice superseding the ancient ones:¹ and again, against Marcion, he argues for the real effect of Christ's words² as transforming, though he hesitates in terminology.³

The countless references to the Holy Eucharist in St. Cyprian's writings (Bishop of Carthage, 248–58) show how entirely it was interwoven with the daily spiritual life of the Church, and the absence of any serious controversy. Perhaps for that very reason we are less informed than we should hope to be as to the

¹ 'Hæc enim hostia spiritualis qui pristina sacrificia delevit'. (*M.E.L.* 1709.) (*De orat.* 28.)

² 'Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis corpus illum suum fecit "Hoc est corpus meum" dicendo, id est figura corporis mei. Figura autem non fuisset nisi veritatis esset corpus: ceterum vacua res, quod est phantasma, figuram capere non posset. (*Adv. Marc.* iv. 40 and cp. iii. 19.) (*M.E.L.* 1807.)

³ 'Tum quod et corpus eius in pane censetur, Hoc est corpus meum. (*M.E.L.* 1682.) (*De orat.* 6.)

rite—the form of prayer, the conception of consecration, and the effects thereof. We have, however, an important letter (no. LXIII) from Cyprian to Caecilius, condemning the use of water only in the chalice. The following is his general line of argument, which covers a wide ground.

The duty of the bishops is to maintain the truth of the Gospel and the tradition of the Lord, and not by any novel practice depart from that which Christ ordered and did. The aquarians, who have given up wine in consecrating and administering, are not doing what Jesus Christ our Lord and God, the author and teacher of this sacrifice, did and taught. I am compelled therefore to write in accordance with a divine stirring and command.

Our directions are that in offering the chalice the Lord's tradition is to be maintained, and nothing to be done by us except what the Lord first did for us.

The chalice which is offered in remembrance of Him is to be offered with mixed wine and water.

This direction is illustrated by Types from the Old Testament—Noah, Melchizedek; by passages from the blessing of Judah (Gen. xlix. 11); from Isaiah (lxii) that wine is significant; and on the contrary that water in O.T. symbolism refers to baptism.

Then the conclusion is drawn that 'it was a mixed chalice which the Lord offered: and it was wine which he called Blood. It is clear then that the Blood of Christ is not offered if the chalice lacks wine and that the Lord's sacrifice is not performed with a legitimate sanctification, unless our oblation and sacrifice corresponds with the Passion.'¹

Later on the symbolism of the mixed chalice is explained. The water represents the laity, inseparably joined to Christ: and similarly the water added to the flour in making the Body of the Lord, into which are compacted countless grains to make one loaf.

The priest who truly officiates in Christ's stead is he who imitates what Christ did; and he offers a full and true sacrifice in the Church to God the Father, if he sets himself so to offer as he sees that Christ Himself offered, &c.

Here we are beginning to see something of the effect of the rise

¹ '... nec sacrificium domini cum legitima sanctificatione celebrari.' (§ 9; Hartel. 708.)

of a Latin theology, which, leaving to a considerable extent the Greek line, marks out for itself a terminology and a way of its own.

In regard to the present question—Eucharistic worship and doctrine—the letter of St. Cyprian just summarized makes the new departure felt: and St. Cyprian follows upon the precedents of Tertullian. The terminology breaks away; e.g. throughout this long letter on the Eucharist St. Cyprian avoids using the Greek term *Eucharistia* and he normally prefers *sacrificium* to describe the service, and *celebrare* as the verb that goes with it.¹ This is all part of a policy. The Greek terms are preferably not to be transliterated, but equivalents must be found. This is so even in the difficult case of *Λόγος* (*Logos*), which St. Cyprian equates with *Sermo*, and not, alternatively, to *Verbum* as, before him, Tertullian had tended to do. Thus a rift in thought as well as in terminology arises between West and East.² The sacrificial language is enhanced: but in the process its content is somewhat changed and narrowed: for *oblatio* can be referred to the whole sacrificial action but not to the offering of the chalice. Similarly, it tends to be equated to the Passion of our Lord rather than to the whole of His redemptive work both then and since, as a memorial of Himself. Consequently, though the sacrificial language is enhanced the conception is weakened. Consecration, rather than the Remembrance Sacrifice, begins to absorb the attention of both celebrant and worshippers.

In regard to the reality of transformation there is no divergence. The Africans are as realist as the Greek-speaking theologians. But as to any explanation, the Latins are content to assume that what our Lord said at the Institution holds good: and therefore they tend to lay a stress upon the recitation of the Dominical

¹ Watson, in *Studia Biblica*, iv. 266. Note also the entry of 'sanctificatio'.

² Tixeront speaks of Tertullian as the Founder of Western theology. 'Jusqu'à la fin du II^e siècle cette théologie avait parlé grec, et ne s'était pas distinguée, dans sa façon de concevoir et d'exposer le christianisme, de la théologie grecque ou plutôt de l'unique théologie existante dans l'Église depuis les apologistes. Mais à cette époque une séparation se produit: les deux théologies, grecque et latine, se détachent comme deux rameaux du tronc dans lequel elles s'étaient jusqu'alors confondues. Elles vont . . . &c.' (*Histoire des Dogmes*, i. 329.)

Words, and leave the matter there. At what point in the course of their service the Recital took place, and the Words were cited, we have no knowledge. Presumably in Africa, as elsewhere, they were part of the Preamble to the action; and were cited as the warrant for acting. If so, a confusion of thought, involving dislocation of structure, had already begun among the Latins, which was bound to develop later on.

But elsewhere some more definite prayer was being used—a distinct calling upon God (above, p. 31) of which there is little, if any, similar evidence in the new Latin outlook.

The Latin phraseology needed for the Anaphora was taking shape. It is from Africa and in Latin that comes the cry *Sursum cor* or *corda*, with its counterpart *Habemus ad dominum*. This would not be idiomatic in Greek, but is very good Latin.¹

Similarly, we can trace the rise of the custom of setting the recitation of the Lord's Prayer at the Eucharist in a framework.² The Latin liturgy is emerging into form and shape; but is getting out of centre.

By a curious chance there lies in the correspondence of St. Cyprian a letter which expresses the other point of view.

Firmilian, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, one of the leading bishops of the day, wrote to support St. Cyprian in his contention against Pope Stephen about Baptism: the letter is no. LXXV in St. Cyprian's collection (c. 256). Firmilian recalls an occurrence that had caused grave scandal, some twenty years earlier, in a time of great public disturbance, earthquakes, and persecution. A disreputable prophetess had arisen and gained a great following. She was eventually shown up by an exorcist, and suppressed; but not before she had taken upon herself to celebrate and to baptize a number of people. 'Is this the sort of thing that we are to be told to accept as valid?' Firmilian argues indignantly.

¹ 'Sacerdos ante orationem praefatione praemissa parat fratrum mentes dicendo "Sursum corda", ut dum respondet plebs "Habemus ad dominum".' (M.E.L. 1912.) (St. Cyprian, *De oratione dominica*, xxxi.)

² 'Qui inter cetera salutaria sua monita et praecepta divina quibus populo suo consulit ad salutem etiam orandi ipse formam dedit'. (M.E.L. 1898.) (Ibid. ii.)

What concerns us now is the bishop's description of her celebrating:

'She claimed by a quite respectable invocation to sanctify bread and make Eucharist, and to offer the sacrifice to the Lord without the solemnity (*sacramentum*) of the customary proclamation (*praedicatio*); and to baptize many, adopting the customary and legitimate words of interrogation.'¹

This view that consecration is due to an invoking of God in the general liturgical prayer has already emerged (pp. 34, 40 and ff.), and it continues to hold the field outside Africa.

A few early instances of its prevalence may be given at once, while reserving to a later stage the development of this view.

'Who but our Saviour alone gave to His devotees the tradition to accomplish the unbloody and reasonable sacrifices through prayers and an ineffable invocation of God?'²

So speaks Eusebius in his oratorical style. And again elsewhere:

'We present to God the Eucharist of our salvation through pious chants and prayers.'³

Similarly Origen states the explanation of the Eucharist thus:⁴

'We, giving thanks to the Creator of all things, eat also of the

¹ The general sense is clear even though the Latin version, which alone is extant, leaves some doubt as to the original Greek which Firmilian wrote: 'Inter cetera quibus plurimos deceperat etiam hoc frequenter ausa est, ut et invocatione non contemptibili sanctificare se panem, et eucharistiam facere, simularet; et sacrificium domino sine sacramento solitae praedicationis offerret; baptizaret quoque multos, usitata et legitima verba interrogationis usurpans, ut nihil discrepare ab ecclesiastica regula videretur.' (In St. Cyprian, ed. Hartel, p. 818. § 10.)

Invocatio is thoroughly in the Greek idiom, but it is not in St. Cyprian's thought or vocabulary.

Sacramentum probably represents *μυστήριον*, as it does commonly in St. Cyprian. See *Studia Bibl.* (iv. 253 n.).

Praedicatio used in the classical sense of a pronouncement officially made by the responsible officer. It is not uncommonly used as the term for the Eucharistic prayer.

² ἀνάμους δὲ καὶ λογικὰς θυσίας τὰς δι' εὐχῶν καὶ ἀπορρήτου θεολογίας τοῖς αὐτοῦ θιασώταις τίς ἐπιτελεῖν παρέδωκεν ἄλλος ἢ μόνος ὁ ἡμέτερος σωτήρ; (Eusebius, *Triakontaeterikos*, § 16; G.C.S. I. 253.)

³ τὴν ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν εὐχαριστίαν δι' εὐσεβῶν ὕμνων τε καὶ εὐχῶν τῷ θεῷ προσκομίζοντες. (Eusebius, *Demonstr. Evang.* i. 10. G.C.S. I, 49.)

⁴ ἡμεῖς δὲ τῷ τοῦ παντὸς δημιουργῷ εὐχαριστοῦντες καὶ τοὺς μετ' εὐχαριστίας καὶ

loaves which are presented with thanksgiving and prayer over the things given, which through the prayer become body, a holy thing and conveying holiness to those who use it with sound intention.' (M.E.L. 1444.)

Elsewhere his regular description of the Eucharist is

'that which is hallowed by the word of God and supplication.'¹ (M.E.L. 1050.)

though, like his predecessor Clement, he is fond also of mystical statements which the next century would have been slower to approve because of the gradual clarifying of trinitarian doctrine which it had by then experienced.

Origen seems to have been usually reluctant to cite the Dominical Words; and when he does so it is meant, as it appears from Rufinus' translation, to give a quiet reassurance to the communicants that indeed it is so, rather than as any explanation of how it is so. Reticence and the *disciplina arcani* prevented him from saying more.²

The beginning of a trinitarian form, and with it the mention of the Holy Spirit in relation to the Anaphora, is also to be found in Origen, as in Justin; as well as the more general statements cited here. These signs of a developing view will be brought up later.

Before that development could succeed, it was necessary to clear up the trinitarian theology with a precision which the earlier epochs had not reached: and to vindicate fully the place of the Holy Spirit in the doctrine of the Trinity.

In Origen, as elsewhere in the third century, there is perpetual

εὐχῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς δοθεῖσι προσαγομένους ἄρτους ἐσθίωμεν, σῶμα γενομένους διὰ τὴν εὐχὴν, ἁγίον τι καὶ ἀγιάζον τοὺς μετὰ ὑγιῶς προθέσεως αὐτῷ χρωμένους. (Origen, *contra Cels.* viii. 33; G.C.S. xi. 249.)

¹ τὸ ἀγιαζόμενον βρῶμα διὰ λόγου θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως . . . κατὰ τὴν ἐπιγενομένην αὐτῷ εὐχὴν, κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως ὠφέλιμον γίνεται . . . καὶ οὐχ ἡ ὕλη τοῦ ἄρτου, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἰρημένος λόγος ἐστὶν ὁ ὠφελῶν τὸν μὴ ἀναξίως τοῦ κυρίου ἐσθίοντα αὐτόν. (Origen, *In Matth.* (xv. 11-); *Tom.* xi. 14, ed. Lommatsch, i. 106, 107. G.C.S. x. 58.)

² "Tu qui ad Christum venisti pontificem verum, qui sanguine suo deum tibi propitium fecit et reconciliavit te patri, non haereas in sanguine carnis; sed discite potius sanguinem verbi, et audi ipsum tibi dicentem, quia "hic sanguis meus est qui pro vobis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum".

'Novit qui mysteriis imbutus est et carnem et sanguinem verbi dei.' (Origen, *In Levitic.* ix. 10; G.C.S. vi, p. 438.)

ambiguity brought in by the use of the term *Λόγος* (Word). Does it mean the Person, the Incarnate Word, or does it mean a spoken word?¹ Distinctions were not yet clear:² and indeed there was still prevailing an ambiguity as to the relation of *Λόγος* to the Holy Spirit. It seemed to some that as the Word acted by delegation from the Father, so He delegated to the Holy Spirit.

It was only by degrees that trinitarian doctrine became clarified. First the Nicene settlement needed to gain general acceptance. Then semi-arianism became allied with the Macedonian view which withheld from the Holy Spirit the full title of 'God'. And the second part of the fourth century saw this struggle fought out and brought to a conclusion. The doctrine of Constantinople (381) completed that of Nicaea: and the full formula concerning the Holy Ghost, becoming part of the current Nicene Creed, shows the conclusion reached. The confusion of *Λόγος* and Holy Spirit would thenceforward be no longer tolerable: and the way lay open for a more developed realization and expression of the Holy Spirit's work.

In earlier days it had been associated almost exclusively with either the prophetic gift or the sacrament of Baptism and Confirmation: barely at all with the consecration of the Eucharist. The literature of the Macedonian controversy shows this clearly by the absence of any argument based on divine action of the Holy Spirit in that sacrament. But a century later it is no longer so. Isidore of Pelusium, for example (c. 450), argues from the accepted belief in the Holy Spirit as the consecrator in the Eucharist to His full divinity.. (*P.L.* lxxviii. 250.)

But simultaneously with the theological development and the defeat of the Macedonian heresy, there seems to have grown up, probably as a result of popular instinct and devotion, a new awareness of the operations of the Holy Ghost.

¹ For example in his phrase 'hallowed by the word of God and supplication' just quoted. Compare earlier use of Justin and Irenæus (pp. 31, 35, 36).

² The ambiguous use of the term *Λόγος* in the Eucharist, as distinguished from the clear use of *ῥῆμα* (= the words uttered by Christ), is discussed in Connolly's (Cambridge T. & S., 1909). *Narsai*, pp. 155-7. Cp. *Prestige*, pp. 116-24.

These two things thus—the disappearing ambiguity about the *Λόγος* and the growing perception of the Spirit's work—are marked features of the post-Nicene world: and exercised profound influence on the Eucharistic development.

While the philosophic school at Alexandria was working out a Christian philosophy of religion, and while the Latins were engaged on practical questions, and their formulation in a new theological, Latin, and legalistic language, there comes to us a welcome contribution of a very different sort in the book called *Didascalia*.¹ It is a description of the proper management of a Christian community—its officers, its offices, its 'workers', and laity generally. The home of it is some rather inconspicuous part of Syria; the date is the middle of the third century; while the form adopted is that of an instruction purporting to be given by the Twelve Apostles at the close of the apostolic period. It is popular, homely, and descriptive: we are far away from the schools and in a country diocese. How is the congregation to be seated in church, controlled, and led? How are the details of social life to be ordered, the disputes to be settled, the functionaries to be supervised?—such are the questions of moment, and not theology. But incidentally we learn that the Alexandrian hesitation or caution prevails against a too crude explanation of the Eucharist; the term *ἀντίτυπον* is used in the statement

'Offer an acceptable Eucharist, the *likeness* of the royal body of Christ . . . , pure bread that is made with fire, and sanctified with invocations.'

Elsewhere² it is said that 'the Eucharist through the Holy Spirit, is accepted and sanctified': but this seems to be part of a general statement about the Holy Spirit's work rather than a reference to a special Invocation of the Holy Ghost in the later sense of the term.

For what is most notable in the *Didascalia* is the evidence which it gives that the devotional and popular movement towards

¹ See *Didascalia Apostolorum*, ed. Dom R. Hugh Connolly (Oxford, 1929), pp. li and 252.

² Ibid. 244.

fuller realization of the Holy Spirit's work has begun. We seem, in a sense, to be back in the atmosphere of the early chapters of the 'Acts of the Apostles' when the sense of His working was keenest. It is not merely that trinitarian forms are working their way in, as has been already noted (ch. iii): this tendency is clear enough.¹ But as the book begins with an assertion of the 'power and fellowship of the Holy Spirit', so it continues to the end dominated by a deep sense of the permanence and pervasiveness of His working in the Christian life. Thus is the widow empowered for her ministry (xviii. i); the martyr is spiritually clothed (xix. 1); the apostles claim to have worked their miracles (xxiii, p. 200); the ordinary Christian is to rise above the Jewish scruples of pollution, because of the Spirit abiding within him (xxvi, pp. 242-8).

Again, His work in the Church as well as in the individual is brought out into prominence.

'Christ left the Jewish Temple desolate, rent the Veil and took away from it the Holy Spirit, and shed Him upon them that believed from among the Gentiles (Joel ii. 28). He took away the Holy Spirit and the power of the Word, and all the ministry from that people, and set it in His church.' (xxiii, p. 199.)

—'the Catholic Church, which is the receptacle of the Holy Spirit.' (xxv, p. 212.)

Finally, in the summing up of the argument against Jewish bondage, it is insisted that

'Prayer is heard through the Holy Spirit, and the Eucharist through the Holy Spirit is accepted and sanctified, and the Scriptures are the Words of the Holy Spirit, and are holy. If the Holy Spirit is in thee, why keep thyself from approaching to the works of the Holy Spirit?' (xxvi, p. 244.)

'Do you then, according to the gospel and according to the power of the Holy Spirit, come together, even in the cemeteries, and read the Holy Scriptures, and without demur perform your ministry and your supplication to God; and offer an acceptable Eucharist, the likeness of the royal body of Christ (*'et eam quae secundum similitudinem regalis corporis Christi est regalem Eucharistiam*

¹ See Connolly's edition, pp. xlv-xlvi.

offerte'),¹ both in your congregations and in your cemeteries, and on the departures of them that sleep—pure bread that is made with fire and sanctified with invocations ('panem mundum praeponentes qui per ignem factus est et per invocationem sanctificatur'), and without doubting pray and offer for them that are fallen asleep. (xxvi, p. 252.)

In this picture of the worshipping congregation there seems to be a special (and new) emphasis laid on two points, the consecration by some sort of invocation, and the prevailing power of the Holy Spirit. From this point it needs but one step forward to reach an Invocation of the Holy Spirit's power at the Anaphora, in some form more or less explicit.

¹ The Greek in Apost. Const. vi. xxx. 2 has τὴν ἀντίτυπον τοῦ βασιλείου σώματος Χριστοῦ δεκτὴν εὐχαριστίαν προσφέρετε.

VII

THE HIPPOLYTEAN ANAPHORA

THE curtain falls on the worshipping Syrians: but simultaneously an actual Anaphora comes into sight. It has caused something of a revolution among many cherished and Western notions and assumptions about the course of liturgical tradition. A small treatise called *The Apostolic Tradition*, by the notable, but little known Graeco-Roman theologian Hippolytus, has recently been recovered and recognized. So it has come to a deserved prominence. It had, indeed, already been increasingly discussed and reconstructed by a process of distillation applied to the various derivatives of the treatise—enlargements, versions, and modifications, conspicuous or obscure, which were dependent upon it, and were current mainly in the East. But in 1900 there was published, from a palimpsest of the late fifth century at Verona, the most part of a Latin version of Hippolytus' own tract.¹ The translation probably was made in the fourth century. Happily the portion recovered includes the whole of his Anaphora, which must belong to the first quarter of the third century. It is now clear that this (or an Anaphora very similar) became widely known during the second quarter of that century. Its influence thereafter was seen to be very marked, especially in some Eastern areas, and its evidence as to early customs is of wider significance still. The original prayer must have been in Greek, for that was the language of Hippolytus, and also still for yet a while the common language of the Roman Church, while Africa was forming the Latin suitable for theology and liturgy. This Greek dress, together with the questionable or even schismatical position which Hippolytus occupied in Rome,² up to the

¹ Ed. E. Hauler, (Leipzig), in *Didascalie Apostolorum fragmenta, &c.*

² For a summary of the puzzling history of Hippolytus see Easton's introduction, pp. 16–32, to his version of the treatise (Cambridge, 1934). For a consideration of the palimpsest document, see Dom R. H. Connolly, *Egyptian Church Order* (Cambridge Texts and Studies, viii. 4; 196). For the best edition of the text see Dom Gregory Dix, *Apostolic Tradition* (1937).

time of his exile and martyrdom in 235, account for the lack of similar wide influence in the Latin West; and markedly in Rome where his rivals gained the victory. This Anaphora, however, probably in any case represent the Greek liturgy of Rome as it then was.

The Anaphora is included in Hippolytus' manual *The Apostolic Tradition* as part of the service prescribed for the consecration of a bishop. After the consecratory prayer, the new bishop receives the kiss of peace: the deacons bring him the oblation; and he, laying his hand upon it, with all the presbytery says the thanksgiving.

This Hippolytean Anaphora fully corroborates the norm or canon which has been already described conjecturally above as lying at the basis of the vast number of later Anaphoras. The body with which that skeleton outline has been clothed is here still very simple and little developed. Possibly elsewhere liturgical development had already gone a good deal farther, and it was only Roman austerity which had kept this form so simple. But in any case we are thankful now to have it.

The three familiar opening salutations lead into the one central prayer, unbroken, as yet, by the introduction of the 'Sanctus'. Later on it must be dealt with fully.¹ Now a brief analysis will show the form and structure of the short prayer. It consists of three main verbs; the first has several short subordinate clauses. The whole is addressed to the Father, and runs on continuously; the references to Christ are all made in relative sentences.

- (I) 1 WE GIVE THEE THANKS . . . through Christ
 2 Whom Thou didst send . . .
 3 Who is Thy Word, . . .
 4 Through Whom Thou didst create . . .
 5 Whom Thou sentest to become Man . . .
 6 Who came to suffer . . .
 7 Who on His betrayal to die . . . took Bread and Cup, blessed and delivered them . . .
 adding 'Do this in remembrance of Me';

¹ See below at p. 49, the full text, with parallel passages from A.C., and notes of other parallels. E. T. in Dix or Easton.

- (II) WHEREFORE WE OFFER (bearing in mind too His death and resurrection) the Bread and the Cup,
giving thanks to Thee for being allowed thus to minister;
(III) AND WE PRAY THEE TO SEND Thy Holy Spirit on the Oblation
of the holy Church

Uniting the partakers in Him unto faith and truth.

The doxology follows.

The whole prayer is full of interest; and many considerations arise out of the details concerning authorship, date, relation to other forms of Anaphora, &c., which must be left on one side for our present purpose, while we take special note of (a) form and structure, (b) the belief in the Eucharistic change, and (c) any explanation given or implied as to the mode or time of the change.

This is the earliest actual Anaphora that is available; and a century passes before there is another to set beside it—the far less interesting or authoritative *Sacramentary of Sarapion* (Chap. X).

In whose interest was this Latin version made in the fourth century? The original treatise forms part of a short collection of three early Church Manuals written in Greek. The extant manuscript was written probably by 486; and the version itself is thought to be a century older, i.e. to be contemporary with St. Ambrose or St. Chrysostom.¹ But the Latin version is crude, and does not suggest liturgical use.

HIPPOLYTEAN ANAPHORA

<i>Latin Version</i>	<i>Apostolic Constitutions</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1. DOMINUS vobiscum. 2. Et cum Spiritu tuo.	Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ κοῦ ἀνω τὸν νοῦν. ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον. εὐχαριστῶμεν τῷ κυ- ρίῳ.	L.E.W. 14 (A.C.)
3. SUSUM corda; 4. Habemus ad dominum. 5. GRATIAS agamus domino;	ἀξιον καὶ δίκαιον. εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Θεέ,	L.E.W. 20 (A.C.) (Apoc. xi. 17.)
6. Dignum et iustum est. 7. GRATIAS tibi referimus, deus,		

¹ See Connolly, *Didascalia*, Introd., p. xviii and f.

<i>Latin Version</i>	<i>Apostolic Constitutions</i>	<i>Notes</i>
8. per dilectum puerum tuum Jesum Christum	ἀγαπητός γιός (19)	(Mt. iii. 13.)
9. QUEM in ultimis tempori- bus		(Heb. i. 1.) Irenæus, <i>Hæres.</i> iii. xviii. 1, &c.; Hipp., <i>c. Noet.</i> , c. 17.
10. misisti nobis salvatorem et redemptorem		(Acts vii. 35.)
11. et angelum voluntatis tuæ;	ἄγγελον τῆς βουλῆς σου	(Is. ix. 6.) <i>L.E.W.</i> 15.
12. QUI est verbum tuum in- separabile(m),		ἀχώριστος Justin, <i>Dial.</i> 128 B.
13. per Quem omnia fecisti,	δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα πεποίη- κας	Hipp., <i>c. Noet.</i> 18. (Jo. i. 3, &c.) <i>L.E.W.</i> 15.
14. et bene placitum tibi fuit;—		(Mt. iii. 17.)
15. misisti de caelo in matri- cem virginis		<i>L.E.W.</i> 19.
16. QUIQUE in utero habitus	καὶ γέγονεν ἐν μήτρᾳ παρθένου,	(Lu. ii. 21.) <i>L.E.W.</i> 19.
17. incarnatus est,	καὶ ἐσαρκώθη	(Jo. i. 14.)
18. et filius tibi ostensus est,		Hipp. <i>c. Noet.</i> 4, ἐκ πνεύματος παρθέ- νου υἱὸς θεοῦ ἀπο- δεδειγμένος. Cp. <i>L.E.W.</i> 51, James.
19. ex spiritu sancto et virgine natus;	γενόμενος ἐκ παρθένου	<i>L.E.W.</i> 19.
20. QUI voluntatem tuam complens,	τὸ θέλημά σου ἐπλή- ρωσε	Ib.
21. et populum sanctum tibi adquirens,		(1 Pet. ii. 9.) <i>L.E.W.</i> 326 Basil.
22. extendit manus, cum pate- retur,		κτησάμενος ἡμᾶς ἐαυτῷ λαὸν περιού- σιον (Is. lxxv. 2.)
23. ut a passione liberaret eos	ἵνα πάθους λύση καὶ θανάτου ἐξέλγεται τοῦ- τους	<i>L.E.W.</i> 20.
24. qui in te crediderunt:		
25. QUI cumque traderetur uoluntariæ passioni,	ἐν ᾗ γὰρ νύκτι παρεδί- δοτο	ἐκούσιος, <i>L.E.W.</i> 51 James; 327 Basil.
26. ut mortem soluat,		(2 Tim. i. 10; Acts ii. 24.) <i>Barn.</i> v. 6.
27. et vincula diaboli dirum- pat,	ἵνα ῥήξῃ τὰ δεσμὰ τοῦ διαβόλου	<i>L.E.W.</i> 20. <i>L.E.W.</i> 327 Basil.

<i>Latin Version</i>	<i>Apostolic Constitutions</i>	<i>Notes</i>
28. et infernum calcet, 29. et iustos illuminet, 30. et terminum figat, 31. et resurrectionem manifestet, 32. accipiens panem, 33. gratias tibi agens, dixit;— 34. Accipite, manducate, 35. Hoc est corpus meum	λαβὼν ἄρτον εἰπὼν λάβετε φάγετε τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μοῦ τὸ . . . θρῆπτόμενον	(Lu. xxii. 37.) <i>Barnabas</i> , v. 6. <i>L.E.W.</i> 20. (Lu. xxii. 19; 1 Cor. xi. 23.)
36. quod pro vobis confringitur: 37. Similiter et calicem, dicens;— 38. Hic est sanguis meus 39. qui pro vobis effunditur:	ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον . . . λέγων τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μοῦ τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον	
40. quando hoc facitis, 41. meam commemorationem facitis.	τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν	
42. Memores igitur mortis et resurrectionis Eius,	<i>Μεμνημένοι τοίνυν τοῦ</i> . . . θανάτου καὶ τῆς <i>ἀναστάσεως,</i>	<i>L.E.W.</i> 20.
43. OFFERIMUS tibi panem et calicem,	<i>προσφερόμέν σοι . . .</i> τὸν ἄρτον . . . καὶ τὸ ποτήριον, εὐχαριστοῦντές σοι	Ib. 21. <i>L.E.W.</i> 329 Basil.
44. gratias tibi agentes, 45. quia nos dignos habuisti 46. adstare coram te et tibi ministrare.	ἐφ' οἷς κατηξίωσας ἡμᾶς εἶσθαι ἐνώπιόν σου, καὶ ἱερατεῦν σοι	Ib. 21.
47. ET PETIMUS 48. ut mittas spiritum tuum sanctum 49. in oblationem sanctae ecclesiae; 50. in unum congregans des omnibus 51. qui percipiunt sanctis	<i>Καὶ ἀξιουμέν σε ὅπως</i> . . . καταπέμψῃς τὸ ἅγιόν σου πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην . . .	(<i>L.E.W.</i> 287. Nestorian.) <i>Didache</i> , 9: Theod. 104.
52. in repletionem spiritus sancti, 53. ad confirmationem fidei in veritate,	ἵνα οἱ μεταλαβόντες αὐτοῦ . . . πνεύματος ἁγίου πληρωθῶσιν.	<i>L.E.W.</i> 21.
54. ut te laudemus et glorificemus;		Oxford papyrus. εἰς βεβαίωσιν καὶ προσθήκην πίστεως, (<i>D.A.C.L.</i> ii. 1885, s.v. Canon.) Cp. <i>L.E.W.</i> 134. (Mark).

<i>Latin Version</i>	<i>Apostolic Constitutions</i>	<i>Notes</i>
55. per puerum tuum Iesum Christum,		Hipp., c. Noet. 18. Αὐτῷ (Χριστῷ) ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος ᾧμα πατρὶ καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι,
56. per quem tibi gloria et honor,	L.E.W. 23 σοὶ . . . δόξα . . . τιμῇ	
57. patri et filio cum sancto spiritu,	τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι	
58. in sancta ecclesia tua,		ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ,
59. et nunc et in saecula saeculo- rum. Amen.	καὶ νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.	καὶ νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

This earliest Anaphora deserves further scrutiny.

1. Its form is important: for an Anaphora contains the words provided to be said during an action—preliminary to the act of offering, accompanying that central act, and carrying on the rest that emerges from it. This Anaphora is in the old shape. Jewish sacrifices, if they have any words at all prescribed to be said,¹ or recorded as having been said,² take the form of commemoration far more than of petition. Praise with thanksgiving rightly formed the most natural approach to God. It might form the whole; or it might later pass on into confession of sin (Lev. v. 1) or into special petitions (2 Sam. xxiv. 10, 17), or end with a blessing (Lev. ix. 22). But the staple objective is the Recital of what God is, of what He has done, and will doubtless continue to do, to the offerer's great content. The sacrificial mind tended to emphasize the mutual engagement of a vow rather than the petition of a suppliant (Gen. xxviii. 20–2): and a habit of private

¹ The O.T. records a number of 'Anaphoras' (in this sense) used on special occasions; they are mainly of this form. David in 1 Chr. xxix. 10–19; Solomon and the people in 2 Chr. vi. 1–11 and 14–22; Ezra and Nehemiah emphasize rather the singing than the Anaphora, Ezra iii. 10; Neh. ix. 4, &c.: but from verse 6 onward there is a typical historical commemoration, leading up at verse 32 to special petition. Cp. 1 Macc. iv. 30–34.

² They might well be done in silence (like 'The Three Hours'); only rarely is there recorded a formula to be used. At Deut. xxvi. 5 there is preserved a characteristic form of ordinary commemoration (לְהוֹזִיךָ or εἰς ἀνάμνησιν). But we are familiar with the method in the liturgical psalms of the Psalter.

prayer is (in a sense) a Christian innovation (Lu. xi. 2; Mt. vi. 5).

The Hippolytean Anaphora presents a picture complete for its time and place: it was carried on as the basis of a series of copies. These emerge at intervals, often greatly modified in plan and content, but valuable as showing not only the continuance of the Tradition but signs also of the progress made subsequently, or as giving even some sort of genealogy of the descendants of the Hippolytean family.

There is nothing else so vividly informing and so boldly showing the stage that has been reached till we come to the Catechetical Lectures of St. Cyril of Jerusalem in which the bishop instructed his neophytes *circa* 350.

But this date is more than a century after Hippolytus, and Eucharistic conceptions (it is clear) have moved far in the interval. There is no reason to suppose that the bishop's instructions surprised his hearers; but they would probably have surprised Hippolytus' flock and been beyond them. For the fourth century had seen great changes, especially in regard to the theology of the Holy Spirit.

If we follow the tracks of the Hippolytean family of Anaphoras we shall have some guide as to the course which development took, at any rate in some quarters, in regard to this and other matters.

It is not possible, from the scanty materials which exist, to trace clearly the history of the development of the Christian consciousness of the working of the Holy Spirit in the Eucharist, or elsewhere. It was natural that, side by side with the dogmatic explications of trinitarian doctrine which filled the minds of the theologians in the fourth century, there should be also in liturgy a parallel development. The first aimed at establishing the consubstantiality of the Son, relating this to the Logos-teaching, distinguishing the Logos from the Third Person, and establishing finally that the Holy Spirit is God. The parallel movement, which was bound to be taking place, was devotional and, so to

say, popular. While the theologians advanced in discussion, the devout people went forward correspondingly in worship and prayer, and grew in their apprehension of the fellowship and activity of the Holy Ghost.

But it is obscure. It is as though we had to deal with a series of ruined mosaics, where bits and fragments have survived and can be tentatively reconstructed; but only occasionally have we a whole picture, and the gaps must be filled in as best we may. So it is with the central part of the Liturgy with which we are especially concerning ourselves.¹

To use for this the familiar term 'Consecration Prayer' would be misleading; for the word 'prayer' is commonly taken to mean merely petition: and the word 'consecration' diverts modern attention from the central action, which is the offering of the sacrifice (pp. 26, 27), to some other point—in fact to the very point about which the discussion of the meaning and method of consecration ranges, viz. the Recital of the Institution. That term, therefore, 'begs the question'; and it may easily be deceptive.

The term 'Anaphora' is used therefore by preference: and it is used as denoting that solemn and detailed method of this expression in word which accompanies the sacrificial act; and as suggesting this form and structure, and this avenue of approach to God. In it three great highways of access join, represented by the terms blessing, first בְּרַכָּה (Berakha), which characterizes the brief formularies of the Kiddush (p. 8), then with εὐχαριστεῖν and with εὐλογεῖν (eucharist and eulogia) which characterize the Institution in the New Testament, and are carried on into the Christian liturgies. The term is thus a reminder that the formula is bound up with the sacrifice done by the offerers; while consecration is the gracious outcome of the divine acceptance of it—an act of God not of man.

This Anaphora is, or at least by now has become, trinitarian in form. The mention of the Holy Spirit is brief and undeveloped as yet. Two things only are asked for, when at the end the time

¹ Good materials are conveniently collected in English versions by A. Linton in his *Twenty-five Consecration Prayers* (S.P.C.K., 1921).

for petition has come, (a) His sending by the Father upon the Sacrifice, and (b) a uniting and replenishing of those who receive. The simplicity of this corresponds with the brief clause concerning the Holy Spirit in the Creed of the Council of Nicaea (325)¹ rather than with the fuller and more familiar statement of Constantinople (381) which is commonly called 'Nicene'. The important point now emphasized is that the Anaphora has grown, like the Creed: and will go on growing, and ascribing more to the operation of the Holy Ghost.

The original Greek of this Anaphora (Hipp.) is not extant: it is known from versions and derivatives.

- (a) The Latin version already described (pp. 47 and ff.) is the principal authority. When the palimpsest leaves (Verona MS. LV) were deciphered, the treatise of Hippolytus was recovered with parts of the *Didascalia* and the *Canons of the Apostles*.

There are important derivatives from the Tract and Liturgy (Hipp.) which cover a wide space in time and place. Four are preserved in part by later Church manuals (Church Orders).

- (b) In Greek in the compilation A.C. (*Apostolic Constitutions*) and kindred documents.
- (c) In Syriac the manual called T (*The Testament of the Lord*).
- (d) In Ethiopic the manual *Eth. Stat. Ap.* (*The Statutes of the Apostles*).
- (e) A fifth set of derivatives of the same type as (d) which have survived by continuing to be in actual use by the Ethiopians in their service-books and in various translations. Two of the group are of special importance for the knowledge of Hipp. (Harden I and Harden II).

All these last four in different ways, as compared with (a), show stages of disintegration of Hipp., the Hippolytean Anaphora with which we are concerned. But the pedigree of the family is a very

¹ It has only 'And (we believe) in the Holy Ghost'.

complex affair so that the dates and the affinities are hardly to be established securely.¹

This Hippolytean Anaphora has its Preamble unspoiled. In the later developments of Anaphoras two disturbances were apt to take place. One transferred the address, in whole or in part, from the Father to Christ, by changing the personal pronouns from the third person to the second.² The other made independent sentences of the subordinate clauses which recount the work of the Incarnate Lord, by altering the relative pronouns, changing 'who' to 'He'. It thus broke up the unity of the Anaphora and the symmetry of its form; it also obscured the preliminary nature of the preamble and weakened thereby the substantive climax which follows, introduced by the word *Wherefore*.

The unity of the Anaphora is preserved, especially in the Preamble, by a number of links or sutures, made by the repetition of catchwords. Not infrequently the makers or modifiers of Anaphoras have disregarded them, and they have made havoc in consequence.

Note here the call (p. 49) in 5, 'Gratias agamus', &c., taken up at once by 7, 'Gratias tibi referimus', &c. Note also that this link is lost in the long, turgid commemoration which the writer of

¹ For (a) see p. 49; for (b) see *L.E.W.*; for (c) see Cooper and Maclean's edition (Edinburgh, 1902); for (d) G. Horner, *Statutes of the Apostles* (1904), p. 140: *L.E.W.* 140; for (e) J. M. Harden, *The Anaphoras of the Ethiopic Liturgy* (S.P.C.K., 1928). And for all see Dix, pp. lii-lxxxii.

² The East Syrian Liturgy (Nestorian) (Linton, p. 68, and *L.E.W.* 283), considering its antiquity, exhibits a remarkable departure from the usual form. Apart from the fact that the MSS. contain no recital of the Institution—which may or may not be significant of what was actually done—note that it begins with a solemn invocation of the Holy Trinity, but then continues a fairly normal course till the end of the 'Sanctus'. Then the address is changed from the Trinity to our Lord 'Thou didst put on our humanity . . .': [Here, if anywhere, would be inserted the account of the Institution], followed by a doxology addressed to our Lord. Then the prayer returns to the Father with an Anamnesis, and leads to an Invocation of the Holy Spirit upon the oblation to bless and hallow it and make it profitable for the communicants expressed with a simplicity which carries us back to Hippolytus.

This, though it preserves many primitive features, represents a great departure from the earlier form and structure, and a divergence from the more normal, alternative Nestorian, liturgy of Theodore (Linton, 71).

the *Apostolic Constitutions* developed out of the original simple Anaphora.¹

Later on when the 'Sanctus' was brought into the Anaphora, it was bonded into it by two links. One was introductory. The other subsequent, and made by the Ἁγιος of the Seraphic Hymn being taken up again by the celebrant's Ἁγιος εἰ. Such links are of crucial importance in holding together a good Anaphora.

This Hippolytean Anaphora is brief in its dealing with the work of God leading up to creation (9-14): others are far more elaborate and long in this section. On the other hand, in dealing with the Incarnation it is unusually detailed (15-31) before it reaches the Institution of the Holy Sacrament (32-41) and comes on to the 'Wherefore' of the Anamnesis on which the Anaphora hinges. Then it passes from Preamble to the substantive action of offering. Here the unity of the Anaphora is skilfully preserved by the co-ordination of all that is to be commemorated with regard to the work of Christ in a series of dependent sentences and relative clauses (as noted above, p. 48).

Again the mishandling by the writer of the *Apostolic Constitutions* shows what ought not to be: for in his enlargement, when 16 is reached, the relative has practically disappeared, so far as any holding of the Anaphora in a unity is concerned. More especially is this unfortunate as the Recital is there carried on to include resurrection, ascension, and session before the Institution is recited (*L.E.W.* 20): and thus a sort of ἀνάμνησις is unduly pushed forward, anticipating the later and crucial μεμνημένοι which corresponds to 42, and is the real ἀνάμνησις. This is a good example of the chaos that ensues in an Anaphora when the structure is disregarded.

We have to note some marked features of this disintegration.

1. The introduction of the 'Sanctus' into the Preamble of the Anaphora led to a considerable confusion. There is no 'Sanctus' in Hipp. nor *Eth. Stat. Ap.* nor T nor Harden II. But Harden I

¹ *L.E.W.* 14; Linton, 32. Contrast, e.g., St. James (*ibid.* 50), where not only the call εὐχαριστήσωμεν is taken up at once, but the join is made securer by a second link, Ἀξιὸν καὶ δίκαιον, taken up at once by ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄξιόν ἐστι καὶ δίκαιον . . . σοι εὐχαριστεῖν &c.

and others, too, have it, awkwardly inserted in the middle of the account of the Incarnation (Hipp. § 21; Harden p. 34). It is a later addition. In AC, the so-called 'Clementine Liturgy' (*L.E.W.*, p. 18), it comes in after a long commemoration of God's dealings in the Hexateuch. The new insertion is there bonded into the Anaphora by the repetition of the catchword 'Holy' after the hymn has closed with the words 'Heaven and earth are full of thy glory, blessed for evermore. Amen'. There is no Hosanna clause as yet, but we note in passing that the addition or interpolation 'Hosanna in the highest; blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord; hosanna in the highest'¹ (from the Triumphal Entry of Christ) is made to the 'Sanctus' in the Syrian Rite, St. James (*L.E.W.* 51, 86); and this, too, is bonded into the Anaphora there by the repetition of the catchword 'Holy'.

The Egyptian Rite, St. Mark (*L.E.W.* 132, 176), has no Hosanna; and the bonding in of the 'Sanctus' is effected by the repetition of the word 'Full' as catchword. This is also the link used in the Ethiopic Anaphora of the Apostles (Harden I, p. 34).

The Persian Rite (*L.E.W.* 284) places the 'Sanctus' fittingly as part of the commemoration of the Divine Glory; it has the Hosanna. So also the Byzantine Rite (*L.E.W.* 323); and this position into which it has finally come is doubtless the appropriate place.

2. The unity of the Anaphora is also in some cases seen to be broken up through the turning of the six subordinate clauses concerning Christ's work (Hipp. 9, 12, 13, 16, 20, 25) into independent clauses by the suppression of the relatives. This feature appears already in the *Eth. Stat. Ap.* Of the six continuous relative clauses as they are in Hipp. only the first survives intact: the second has become independent, and the rest also in more or less degree. The like confusion prevailing in AC has already been noted (p. 57). In T the long interpolations have also disintegrated the structure: but the relatives at

¹ This is the proper form of the addition. To break, as the Latin does, at 'Benedictus' is a clumsy mutilation due to musical considerations.

§§ 20 and 25 have survived; and consequently the Recital of the Institution is here kept in its place as part of the Preamble and not made into an independent statement. In *Eth. Stat. Ap.*, and elsewhere too,¹ the Recital of the Institution has already become detached, and is no longer a subordinate clause: it has consequently acquired a new prominence and a fresh value. The change is significant. With it there comes into the Ethiopian group, Harden I, II,² the very proper introduction (after § 31 of Hipp.) of the phrase 'On the night in which He was betrayed'; which becomes usual in non-Latin rites.³

3. A third disturbance here exemplified is the result of the tendency to change the address of the Anaphora from the First Person to the Second Person. At the beginning of the Anamnesis several Anaphoras slip away from the First to the Second Person (having, e.g., *tui* instead of the *eius* in Hipp. § 42). This style of alteration in later stages was very prevalent in slovenly quarters:⁴ indeed, the whole Anaphora was sometimes thus diverted.⁵

¹ Harden I and II.

² Also into AC; but not into T.

³ Linton, p. 26.

⁴ *Eth. Stat. Ap.* in Horner 140, but not in *L.E.W.* 190. In Harden II, p. 64, but not Harden I, p. 36. In T, p. 75.

⁵ See for an Eastern example the Liturgy of St. Gregory Nazianzen in Linton, p. 96. Such declensions were not very successful, and survived mainly in by-ways and disappeared. But the swerve involved must be carefully noted. It exemplifies the popular tendency prevailing in certain pious types of mind and devotion towards 'Jesus-worship'. From early days the tendency was able to secure for itself some recognition in the Liturgy which has survived triumphantly. One example has already been noted above (p. 58). The addition of the Hosanna clause to the 'Sanctus' goes back ultimately to Jewish custom (Psalm cxviii. 25) behind the use at the Triumphal Entry. In Christian use it appears in a brief exclamatory form in the *Didache*, 'Hosanna to the Son of David' (*Did.* x. 6). To AC it comes in a longer form among the devotions after reception of communion (A.C. viii. 13 and vii. 26; *L.E.W.* 24), not in the Anaphora: but in St. James (*L.E.W.* 51, 86) it has established a place for itself, where for the moment it diverts the address of the Anaphora from the First Person to the Second.

Some influence of the same tendency brought at a later date (687) the 'Agnus dei', already part of the 'Gloria in excelsis', to a new position in the Roman Rite; not, as in the East (St. James, *L.E.W.* 62), for a Priest's formula to be said after the Fraction, but as a chant to be sung by clergy and people (*Liber Pontificalis*, i. 381, note 42). But in this position, being outside the Anaphora, the swerve justifies itself: for the action itself of the Liturgy moves onward here from the offering of the sacrifice to the anticipation of partaking

The varying degree of freedom with which the Recital of the Institution is treated¹ must be noted: but it need not here be followed out, as it is not likely to affect seriously the Anaphora of the future.

4. But the chief centre of disturbance lies at Hipp. 47-49, 'Et petimus ut mittas spiritum tuum sanctum in oblationem sanctae ecclesiae' (p. 49), the earliest case preserved of an invocation of the Holy Spirit thus in an Anaphora, and the precursor of great developments and repercussions.

The consequences that follow are very large: but for the moment we confine ourselves to the significance of this clause in the pedigree of the Hippolytean Anaphora.

There are some cases where no such clause is included: but in others this clause, in its simple and elementary form, is faithfully recurrent within the family; and it also appears outside of it. The Ethiopian documents before us—the three best representatives of the family—are agreed. *Eth. Stat. Ap.*—probably the earliest descendant—agrees verbally. Harden I and II repeat it in an enlarged and specialized form (to be considered shortly): so also AC.

T, on the contrary, has no such invocation; the place of §§ 47-49 is taken by a long oratorical passage quite alien to the Hippolytean Anaphora, followed by a clumsy recovery at § 50. This intrusion occupies the room of the H. Spirit. Alternatively clause 47-9 might be a later addition to Hipp., and its absence from T be thus explained: only § 50 does not fit on to 46, but to 47.

In any case the clause (even if not original)² must have been in the Anaphora very early—earlier than the 'Sanctus'.³ And that fact is enough to establish for it a respectable antiquity.

There is no need for us to go farther than this into the question thereof. However, this tendency to swerve must be carefully watched: for, though it has mainly failed to upset the working of the Liturgy, it has often upset the balance of popular worship and even of the theology of the Holy Sacrament: and it tends to do so still.

¹ It has been done by F. Hamm, *Die liturgischen Einsetzungsberichte* (Münster i/W., 1928). Cp. the brief note in Linton, pp. 26, 27.

² Dix, 75-9.

³ For *Eth. Stat. Ap.* has the clause, but has no 'Sanctus'.

of authenticity: whatever be the date and authority, this invocation-clause is, so far as present knowledge goes, the starting-point of the documented history of the problem of the Epiclesis.

The enlargements and specializings of the Hippolytean clause call therefore for further notice: for they indicate the lines of later development. Harden I and II say 'Send the Holy Spirit *and power* on this bread and upon this cup. May He make it the Body and Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ for ever'; and then Harden I, resuming at Hipp. 50, has regard to the effect upon the receivers.¹ AC has a less simple clause, 'Send down thy Holy Spirit upon this sacrifice—a witness of the sufferings of the Lord Jesus' (*L.E.W.* 21); adding a specialized clause about the change effected upon the elements 'that He may manifest this bread as Body of thy Christ, and this cup as Blood of thy Christ', before going on (like Hipp. 51, 52) to deal with the benefits of reception.

Here, then, are two stages of development: (i) an amplification of the simple *mittas in oblationem* ('send upon the oblation'); and (ii) the addition of a new specialized clause about the effect on the elements.

The clause is found also in this simple form outside the Hippolytean family (especially in the Nestorian), with some such development emerging into use.² Elsewhere it became usual for the order to be inverted—'on us and these oblations' (gifts).³

It is probable that, if the mention of the Holy Spirit had remained in this simple form, there would have been no reaction against it. Such a commemoration, as has been noted already (pp. 22, 32), was from the earliest Christian days an essential part of the trinitarian doctrine—not indeed always fully expressed, but characteristic of the more solemn and complete rehearsals of Christian faith, e.g. baptism, doxology, creed. It was bound, therefore, to claim its place also in eucharistic prayer. But having

¹ In the Saidic derivative (Horner 344; *L.E.W.* 462) the text of the Anaphora is not given, but rubrics direct the chief priest to pray over the Oblation that the Holy Spirit may come upon it and transform the gifts.

² Linton, 71, 76.

³ Ibid. 54, 57, 63, 67, 95.

secured its place there, it was bound also, when the time came for a fuller explication of the doctrine and work of the Holy Spirit, to develop there also, as it had done in the Creed. Then the simple statement of the early days naturally seemed inadequate: so development was due to come in the second half of the fourth century.

We have already seen some early signs, in the *Didascalia*, of a popular rally to the realization of His work: some decades later we have the Hippolytean Invocation; and we have seen also signs of the development in the Hippolytean family.

We must now move on to wider ground and look at the liturgies as a whole.

VIII

THE COLLECTION OF ANAPHORAS

IT was convenient at first to keep to the Hippolytean line: but we must now face up to the great mass of varying Anaphoras which make up the 'Eastern Liturgies', as they are known to-day. More than 100 of them are known in more or less degree. Variety in details with uniformity of scheme had been characteristic of the early days, when much liberty was left to the individual celebrant, normally a bishop. His clergy naturally followed his example; and so the East called its different Anaphoras after the leading persons. But geographical considerations were bound to come in also, and a certain type of service became attached to a particular area or to a leading Christian centre. Besides, the heresies and schisms created types or variants of their own, which were called after their leaders, but belonged really to their denominations.

Anaphoras therefore, regardless of their high-sounding titles, fall into geographical or (and) into denominational groups.

The classification adopted in *L.E.W.* is scientific. The Anaphoras of the East are classed in four main groups or rites—Syrian, Egyptian, Persian, and Byzantine: under each is given the one (or more) outstanding Liturgy. Also in the Introduction there is a list of the known Anaphoras relevant to each rite. The Syrian Rite is the most variegated; besides the so-called 'Clementine Liturgy', i.e. AC, there is a Greek group of the Liturgy of St. James in Greek and Syriac, some Orthodox, some Uniat, some Jacobite; four of these are printed (*L.E.W.* 1-109) and at pp. lvii-lxiii there are catalogued no less than sixty-four subordinate Anaphoras which are known to exist, or to have existed.

In the Egyptian Rite St. Mark is the outstanding orthodox Greek Liturgy: see pp. 113-43 with two alternative Anaphoras. Parallel with it is a Jacobite and Coptic St. Mark (144-83) with

a few alternative Anaphoras. Here are placed those of the Abyssinian or Ethiopic group which we have already been considering as being largely derived from the Hippolytean Order. The subordinate Anaphoras are given best in Harden's collection: cp. *L.E.W.* lxxiv.

The Persian Rite is small in extent and 'Nestorian' in origin.

The Byzantine Rite includes (*a*) the Orthodox Eastern Greek liturgies of to-day—called after St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, and St. Gregory Dialogos—used in many vernacular translations, with uniat equivalents in places; and also (*b*) the Armenian group, which stands apart on national and denominational grounds.

The Eastern system of Anaphoras seems to present a sharp contrast with the plan of Masses which is found in the Latin service-books. But the contrast is really not so sharp as it appears to be at first sight.

Every Eucharist supposes the co-operation of various persons, and the use by them of various books. The deacon requires the book for his part of the service, the reader for his, the singers for theirs, as well as the celebrant for his. The arrangement in any MS. or book-form of the component parts that are to be fitted together is a matter of convenience. The celebrant will have his book containing the central Anaphora and the surrounding prayers: and he will probably want another book, or a separate section, when he substitutes one Anaphora for another.

The deacon will want his Gospels alike in East and West, and they will constantly vary. But in the East the deacon has more part in the service. His own shares in litanies and other contributions have not been lost, as they have been in the West; and these may to some extent vary. Provision therefore has to be made for this either in the book that contains the celebrant's Anaphora, or elsewhere. The chants which are to be fitted into the service vary continually, and they only to a small extent disturb the course of either celebrant or reader. Their variants therefore are placed almost entirely separate from the Anaphora text.

The Eastern services confine the variants that are due to be made for this or that time or season or festival, to two things—the lessons and the chants. The celebrant goes on his way almost unmoving, through his Anaphora, while readers and singers are at their books fitting in their contributions: and when he changes from one Anaphora to another, his own course is plain, and he does not come up against the reader or the singer who are doing their parts. Thus the Eastern Anaphora is unvarying in the midst of variation.

In the Latin rites it came about that more variation was desired of the celebrant. At some considerable number of places in the course of his service he had, or might have, something to say which was 'proper' to it and not common to all such services. It might be that collects were to be changed at intervals; or clauses to be inserted into the Anaphora (or Canon) itself. He regarded, therefore, his part in the composite service as a framework, into which he, like reader and singer, would have to introduce variables at their appointed places. His book therefore—the Sacramentary—was in its early days arranged accordingly. It became a set of variables. The 'Masses', they are the variables; and accompanying them is an 'Ordinary' and Canon—that is the framework.¹ The arrangement of this came to vary in detail, but the principle remained the same.

There was danger in this policy of variation, as the sequel showed—the danger, that is, that, in allowing such variation to the Latin celebrant, the essentials, or at least the leading features,

¹ In the ninth century Roman custom was rearranged. The 'Ordinary' had once, like an Eastern Anaphora, begun with the Introductory Versicles 'Per omnia saecula', &c.; 'Sursum corda', &c. This custom lasted down to the thirteenth century: and the opening was often decorated with a fine miniature. This then was shifted on to decorate instead the 'Vere dignum'. Later on, instead of dividing at 'Sursum corda', a fresh place of division was introduced through the inclusion of the 'Sanctus'. The part leading up to it then became a *Preface* attached to it, and cut off from the rest of the Preamble. Thereupon the part remaining that followed the 'Sanctus' became separate, as a 'Canon (Actionis)', beginning afresh with the 'Te igitur'. Gradually the decorative miniature was shifted correspondingly: and the T of 'Te igitur' finally developed into a Crucifixion.

See V. Leroquais, *Sacramentaires*, Planches xxiv, xxviii, xxxix, xlii, xlvii; then Pl. x, xi, xxix, xxxii; then Pl. xii, and finally Pl. xv, &c.

of the rite might not be adequately preserved, or safeguarded. Therefore in process of time two opposite consequences followed: (i) a restriction was set upon variation in the most crucial parts of the service, such as Rome found to be desirable when it had to determine its Latin form of Eucharist; and (ii), on the other hand, there developed an extravagant indulgence in the liberty of variation such as prevailed in Gallican, and notably in Mozarabic, services, in the course of which essentials or leading features of the liturgical worship were often lost or obscured.

In the matter of service-books it was in this way that East and West diverged.

In other respects for a long time the functioning of the liturgy did not greatly differ in the two spheres. The Papal Mass of the *Ordo Romanus I* shows a service which in magnificence and complexity was the counterpart of the contemporary Eastern Liturgy. But by degrees a multiplication of celebrations on the same day came about in the West, as it has never done in the East. The papal and pontifical masses declined in consequence, as the parochial masses became numerous, and as they became the normal type of service. This in turn was superseded by the private or low mass; which became so popular as to dominate the West, and obliterate there largely the old ideals of worship.

As low mass came into vogue, in the absence of choirs and ministers, the celebrant was expected to supply what properly belonged to reader or singer and not to him at all. Consequently his book, the Sacramentary, had to make room for their lessons and chants which he had to undertake: and thus it grew into a full 'Missal' providing everything for use in the Western Low Masses. The contrast between the Eastern and the Western service-book was thus stereotyped.

The grouping of varying Anaphoras round the great Christian centres was partly the result of the natural tendency which also effected the grouping of Christians for other purposes into provinces and patriarchates.

But it was also to some extent the result of conciliar legisla-

tion intervening to systematize worship. An example of this is to be found in the Council of Laodicea (c. 350). It busied itself with efforts to gain some greater uniformity—in Phrygia presumably, a district, that is, where there was no outstanding Christian centre which could give the lead, such as there were elsewhere—at Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, Rome, &c.

The Canon 19 of the Council is one of a set which deals with the Liturgy and determines the order thus:¹ Sermon, Prayer of the Catechumens, Prayer of the Penitents leading up to the Prayers of the Faithful, three in number, the first said silently, the other two aloud. Then is to follow the Peace; and thus the remaining holy oblation is to be accomplished. (*Καὶ οὕτω τὴν ἁγίαν προσφορὰν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι.*)

¹ Bruns, i. 73; Hefele-Leclercq, *Conciles*, i. 1010.

IX

DEVELOPMENT IN THE FOURTH CENTURY

IT has already been noted that after Hippolytus the curtain falls, or at least the light grow dim and sparse, till, over a century later, the two courses of catechetical lectures given by St. Cyril at Jerusalem in 348 seem to dazzle the inquirer with a sudden and unsuspected and novel glare. It is well therefore to set out at once¹ what was the nature of the Anaphora on which St. Cyril was commenting—so far as can be gathered from his instructions. Most of the relevant passages are in his fifth instruction to the communicants, the twenty-third of the whole series (§ 7).

The opening versicles are followed by the commemoration of the creative work of God, leading up to the 'Sanctus'. Here, later on, one would expect to find a continuation of the Preamble, linked to the preceding section by a repetition of the catchword 'Holy': but St. Cyril gives no indication of this in the course of his instructing. Nor here does he deal in his lecture with any Recital of the Institution: he had already commented on the Pauline account of it in the previous lecture (xxii. 1), insisting that it guaranteed the reality of the eucharistic conversion,² but not treating it as the mode of the conversion. In the first lecture of the second set (xix. 7) he had taught that the idol-sacrifices were polluted by the invocation of demons; and similarly the eucharistic gifts, which before 'the invocation of the holy and adorable trinity' were mere bread and wine, after the invocation became the Body and Blood of Christ:³ and he had repeated this

¹ This is done in *L.E.W.*, Appendix B, 464-70. Cp. *P.G.* xxxiii. 1097-.

² Αὐτοῦ οὖν ἀποφνημαμένου καὶ εἰπόντος περὶ τοῦ ἄρτου "Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα", τίς τολμήσει ἀμφιβάλλειν λοιπόν; &c. (*Catech.* xxii (iv), § 1.) ὥστε μετὰ πασῆς πληροφορίας ὡς σώματος καὶ αἵματος μεταλαμβάνωμεν Χριστοῦ. Ἐν τύπῳ γὰρ ἄρτου δίδοται σοι τὸ σῶμα, καὶ ἐν τύπῳ οἴνου δίδοται σοι τὸ αἷμα. (*Ibid.*, § 3.)

³ Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν εἰδωλικάῃς πανηγύρεσι κρεμώμενα . . . μανθέντα τῇ τῶν παμμάρων ἐπικλήσει δαιμόνων τῇ τοῦ διαβόλου πομπῇ ἐγκαταλέγεται. ὥπερ γὰρ ὁ ἄρτος καὶ ὁ οἶνος τῆς εὐχαριστίας πρὸ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως τῆς ἁγίας καὶ προσκυνητῆς

teaching in the third lecture, speaking there of 'the invocation of the Holy Spirit'.¹ The full character of the eucharistic invocation is made clear by these two phrases; it implies a calling on the Father to carry out the behest of Christ, by sending the Holy Spirit.

The hearers must have been already prepared for the next step of the lecturer. He passed here in silence over the commemoration of the redemptive work of Christ (which was the natural sequel of the earlier part of the great commemoration), and over the Institution, with which he had already dealt, and over the Anamnesis itself.

He thus came to emphasize the sending of the Holy Spirit in order to accomplish the conversion, 'for whatsoever the Holy Ghost has touched is certainly hallowed and changed'.²

The mention of the offering of the Sacrifice follows, but only transitionally, introducing the Great Intercession.³ This concerns itself first with those needs for which we specially intend to pray and offer the Sacrifice; and then follows the commemoration of the departed⁴—of some of them as intercessors reinforcing the prayers of the congregation, and of others as persons who will themselves receive the greatest benefit for their souls by the intercession of the holy and most dread sacrifice that is in hand.

St. Cyril then passes on to the Lord's Prayer, and so ends the Anaphora.

The evidence is not continuous enough to show the whole form of this Anaphora of Jerusalem. It clearly establishes, how-

τριαδος ἄρτος ἦν καὶ οἶνος λιτός, ἐπικλήσεως δὲ γενομένης ὁ μὲν ἄρτος γίνεται σῶμα Χριστοῦ, ὁ δὲ οἶνος αἷμα Χριστοῦ. (Ibid., xix (1), § 7.)

¹ ὁ ἄρτος τῆς εὐχαριστίας μετὰ τὴν ἐπικλήσιν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος οὐκ ἔτι ἄρτος λιτός, ἀλλὰ σῶμα Χριστοῦ. (Ibid., xxi (iii), § 3.)

² Εἴτα ἁγιασάντες ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τῶν πνευματικῶν τούτων ὕμνων, παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν φιλόανθρωπον θεὸν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐξαποστείλαι ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα ἵνα ποιῇ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα Χριστοῦ, τὸν δὲ οἶνον αἷμα Χριστοῦ. πάντως γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν ἐφάψηται τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τοῦτο ἡγιασται καὶ μεταβέβληται. (Ibid., xxiii (v), § 7.)

³ Εἴτα μετὰ τὸ ἀπαρισθῆναι τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν, τὴν ἀνάμακτον λατρείαν, ἐπὶ τῆς θυσίας ἐκείνης τοῦ ἱλασμοῦ, παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν θεόν . . . (Ibid., § 8.)

⁴ ὅπως ὁ θεὸς ταῖς εὐχαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ πρεσβείαις προσδέξῃται ἡμῶν τὴν δέησιν. εἴτα καὶ ὑπὲρ . . . πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν προκεκοιμημένων, μεγίστην δόξιν πιστεύοντες ἔσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ δέησις ἀναφέρεται τῆς ἁγίας φρικωδεστάτης προκειμένης θυσίας. (Ibid., § 9.)

ever, the reality of the eucharistic conversion, and bases this upon the guarantee expressed in the recital of the Institution. As to the mode of that conversion it is insistent that it is completed by the Invocation of the Holy Spirit 'on the gifts, to make the bread the Body of Christ, and the wine the Blood of Christ'.

This explicit declaration of the mode of eucharistic conversion has come already to our notice in some of the descendants of Hippolytus; but they were documents of little and local authority, and of later and uncertain date. In this case we have both place and date fixed. It is Jerusalem, the mother of the Churches, recently raised up again out of her desolation and become once more, owing to Constantine and Helena, one of the chief Christian centres: and the date is 348.

The small attention paid to expounding the Anamnesis and Act of offering for the benefit of the new communicants may seem remarkable: but it is assumed that they understood already the propitiatory Christian sacrifice, and that the terminology applied to it, 'spiritual sacrifice' and 'bloodless worship',¹ were familiar and understood, just as it is assumed that they were familiar with the heathen sacrifices.²

There are no signs of innovation here, but, on the contrary, a great insistence upon the continuity of biblical teaching and of Christian tradition.

These lectures of St. Cyril are therefore a landmark: but solely because, for the century that had passed since the time of Hippolytus, the evidence available is, at best, only fragmentary as to the antecedents of this developed Anaphora which St. Cyril attests and (in some degree) expounds.

What parallels are to be found elsewhere at this period?

In Rome itself the Latin theology began to arise shortly after Hipp., with Novatian (c. 250); and by a stroke of good luck his *De Trinitate* has been preserved to us under the impression that it was a work of Tertullian. His view of Jo. xvi. 14, and the

¹ πνευματικὴ θυσία, ἀναίμακτος λατρεία &c. (above, p. 69, note 3).

² Above, p. 68, note 3.

relation of the Paraclete to Christ, was not such as would have been found satisfactory later on:¹ but in dealing more directly with the theology of the Holy Spirit subsequently, and His operations, he ends with a general statement² that of all other gifts of charismata He is the author and distributor. There is nothing in this that would clash with the clause 47-49 of Hipp.

Some more positive signs of the awakened interest in the work of the Holy Spirit have been quoted above from the third century. Others may be added here as straws indicating the current that was gathering force before and after Nicaea (325) and coming down to St. Cyril's catechizings in 348.

In two of the manuals of the fourth century the awakened interest in the work of the Holy Spirit is in places noticeable.

A.C. in its first six books (c. 370) is enlarging upon the *Didascalia*: and the interest which we there noted (p. 44 and ff.) is extended in the corresponding parts of A.C. This is shown in a scrupulous development and completion of doxologies which is manifest throughout: also in the addition of small significant phrases about the Holy Spirit addressed to the individual Christian, which show the growing interest in a more popular form.³

The manual called 'The Testament' (T) has also come before us: it is an amalgam of various dates and modifications based on *Apost. Trad.*; but a marked characteristic of it as contrasted with that source is the prominent place given to the theology of the Holy Spirit.⁴

In the Persian zone the developing theology seems early to have

¹ *P.L.*, iii. 942, cap. xvi (or xxiv).

² *Ibid.*, cap. xxix, col. 972, 'quaequae alia sunt charismatum dona componit et digerit.'

³ In A.C. II. 26. 6. The deaconess is warned not to take the initiative but to depend on the deacon, as the Paraclete does on Christ. She is to be the intermediary between any woman and the deacon or bishop, just as the Holy Spirit is in the approach of faith to Christ.

II. 18. 2. The bishop pronounces forgiveness: for to the cry 'I have sinned', the Holy Spirit replies 'The Lord hath put away thy sin'.

V. 10. 2. To the warning against bad songs is added, that they let in evil instead of the Holy Spirit.

⁴ Ed. Cooper and Maclean, Introduction, p. 20. Note the peroration, cap. 18 (p. 62); the added ejaculations that follow the Anaphora, cap. 23 (p. 75); the climax of the Deacon's Admonition, cap. 35 (p. 102).

taken root, perhaps from Jerusalem. Aphraat (337-45) is probably the earliest representative available. In his Sixth Demonstration (§§ 14-16) he deals at considerable length with the general work of the Holy Spirit, but without reference to the Eucharist. Ephraim (c. 308-73), in his hymns, is difficult to translate or understand; his method is allusive and poetical: but there is much that seems to presuppose not only realism in his eucharistic doctrine, but great insistence on the operation of the Holy Ghost (often under the description of 'Fire') not only in baptism but also in the Eucharist.¹ Other evidence coming from the same area, but probably not Ephraim's, asserts more explicitly the descent of the Holy Spirit to be the mode of conversion.

The development of the recognition of the work of the Holy Spirit in the Eucharist has an interesting parallel in the development of the consecration of the baptismal font. Due regard must be had to two fundamental differences between the several rites. It was in baptism that the Holy Spirit's work was from the first recognized and emphasized as the most prominent feature, whereas it only subsequently became clearly recognized and expressed in the Eucharist. Further, in the baptismal rite the consecration is non-essential to the sacrament, but in the Eucharist it is all important. Yet a similar line of development marks the two.²

The Baptism of our Lord had from the first made familiar the idea of the descent of the Holy Spirit. In its simplest form such a descent at baptism was regarded as a sacrifice,³ and the effect was thus regarded (as in Hipp.) simply as a consequent sanctification. But, as early as the first surviving Greek baptismal consecration, this had presupposed a more explicit action of God. So a visitation of the Holy Spirit, 'to hallow, with the

¹ See the passages quoted by Atchley, § 13, pp. 54-8; and Gwynn's Translations and Introduction in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, vol. xii of N.S. (Oxford, 1898).

² See H. Scheidt, *Die Taufwasserweihegebete*.

³ Note in the Coptic Order, 'Suscipe super altare tuum sanctum rationale et caeleste, in odorem thymiamatis grati magnitudini tuae caelesti, per ministerium angelorum'. (Scheidt, p. 48.)

grace of redemption', was desired upon the water itself, before the prayer went on to plead for any good effects on the candidates.¹

Later on, the Syriac consecration at baptism imported a yet more explicit invocation of the Holy Spirit, with descriptive clauses added which presuppose the Council of 381.²

A generation later than St. Cyril good evidence is afforded by the recovery in a Syriac translation of a set of Catechetical Lectures given by Theodore of Antioch, a lifelong friend of St. Chrysostom, and bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia for thirty-six years (392-428). The last two of the six deal with the liturgy; they not only explain, but describe, the service as it proceeds after the baptisms.³ The teacher is fully realistic about the conversion, ascribing it to the descent of the Holy Spirit,⁴ explicit

¹ Αὐτὸς οὖν, φιλάνθρωπε βασιλεῦ, πάρεσο, καὶ νῦν διὰ τῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου σου Πνεύματος καὶ ἀγιάσον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο· καὶ δὸς αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν τῆς ἀπολυτρώσεως, τὴν εὐλογίαν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου. (Scheidt, p. 18.) Cp. 'Mitte super ea (aquis et unguento) gratiam Spiritus tui sancti, ut parata sint ad haec tua dona recte in se suscipienda, ut sit in eis virtus'. (Ibid. 46.)

² It is worth while to notice in this connexion some other forms that the invocation takes in these baptismal rites. The prayer-book of Sarapion has an invocation of the Logos, here, as at the Eucharist.

'O King and Lord of all things and Creator of the universe, who gavest salvation to every creature by the descent of Thy Only-begotten Jesus Christ, and redeemedst thy work of Creation by the coming of Thine ineffable Word, look now from heaven and behold these waters, and fill them with Holy Spirit. May Thine ineffable Word be in them, and transform their energy, and make them fertile, being filled with Thy grace; that the Sacrament now in hand may not prove vain, &c.'

Διὰ τῆς ἐπιδημίας τοῦ ἁρρήτου σου λόγου ἔφιδε νῦν ἐκ τοῦ οὐράνου καὶ ἐπίβλεψον ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα ταῦτα, καὶ πληρώσον αὐτὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου· ὁ ἁρρητός σου λόγος ἐν αὐτοῖς γενέσθω, καὶ μεταποιησάτω αὐτῶν τὴν ἐνέργειαν. (J.T.S., vol. i, p. 263, Sarapion, No. vii; or Funk, p. 180.)

The invocation of 'the Name' is found in the Coptic, pp. 35, 47, and in the Ethiopic, p. 40. At p. 41 the address is made to the Father (apparently), 'Appare, domine, super hanc aquam'. More usual is ἐπίδε, or ἐπίβλεψον, which marks especially the old sacrificial idea.

³ Ed. Mingana in *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. vi, pp. 71-114 (Cambridge, 1933). A Latin version of his rite, ed. by Rücker, in Stapper's *Opuscula et Textus* (Aschendorf).

⁴ Theodore, p. 76. The baptized 'ought not to regard the elements merely as Bread and Cup, but as the Body and Blood of Christ, into which they were so transformed by the descent of the Holy Spirit.'

p. 104 (in the Anaphora). 'The priest offers, according to the rules of priesthood, prayer and supplication to God that the Holy Spirit may descend, and that grace may come therefrom upon the bread and wine that are laid, so

about the sacrifice,¹ and intent on the heavenly rather than the earthly sphere.²

The whole deserves to be compared with the Antiochene Rite of St. Chrysostom as well as with the evidence of St. Cyril: it is far fuller than either,³ and a short description of the rite will be valuable as well as the quotations already given here in the notes.⁴ It represents the progress made in the East by the end

that they may be seen to be truly the Body and the Blood of our Lord, which are the remembrance of immortality.'

¹ p. 79. 'We must first of all realize that we perform a sacrifice of which we eat.' Though it is a remembrance of the death of our Lord in food and drink, we are nevertheless performing a sacrifice. It is 'not a new one and one that the priest performs as his, but it is a remembrance of that other real Sacrifice. Because the priest performs things found in heaven through symbols and signs, it is necessary that his sacrifice also should be as their image, and that he should represent a likeness of the service of heaven.'

p. 82. 'The priests of the New Testament are believed to perform sacramentally by the descent of the Holy Spirit, and for the confirmation and admonition of the children of the Sacrament, these things which we believe that Christ our Lord performed, and will perform, in reality.'

² p. 83. We must picture in our mind that we are dimly in heaven, and through faith draw in our imagination the image of heavenly things.

³ *L.E.W.*, pp. 464-81.

⁴ p. 84. The deacons come wearing stoles floating over the left shoulder before and behind. They bring and arrange on the altar the oblation (or symbols of Christ's oblation), representing the ministry of the angels: they spread linen cloths on the altar, representing the grave-clothes, and stand on either side, fanning. All this is preparatory and done in silence. The deacon calls the people to prayer, and the priest makes his own preparation of prayer and thanksgiving to which the people answer *Amen*. Then follow the Greeting and Kiss of Peace of clergy and people; and meanwhile the Lavatory takes place. The deacon calls the congregation to stand and look while the diptychs are being read: thereafter he bids them, 'Look at the sacrifice': and the Anaphora begins.

p. 96. It starts with the usual triple dialogue, which leads into the first part of the Preamble, and carries on the Commemoration of God eternal, and His creation, up to the point of the 'Sanctus'. 'This is said as in Isaiah [but perhaps with an addition, 'Praise and adoration are offered by all the creatures to Divine Nature']. The people meanwhile stand with bowed heads, and join in aloud.

p. 102. The link on to the next part of the Anaphora is made by taking up again the word 'Holy' and addressing it to each person of the Trinity. Then follows the commemoration of the work of the Incarnate Lord, which is fully set forth in a set of five short independent sentences which recall Hipp., ending with 'He gave us this sacrament', but it does not lead to an express recital of the Institution. Rather it seems that a reticent paraphrase is made, telling the audience what the priest is doing and recalling.

'We commemorate the death of our Lord . . . and receive the immortal

of the fourth century and thus continues and amplifies the teaching which St. Cyril's lectures have revealed to us: and shows how it was on the way to dominate all liturgical worship.

and spiritual food of the Body and Blood of our Lord: for the sake of which when our Lord was about to draw nigh to His Passion He instructed His disciples that all of us who believe in Christ had to receive them, and perform them through these (elements): and in this way to commemorate by stages the death of Christ our Lord and obtain therefrom an ineffable nourishment' (p. 103).

The description continues. 'The priest says these and similar things in this holy service, and in his remembrance (? ἀνάμνησις) of the things that had taken place previously; and prepares us all to see through the things that are placed (? τὰ προκειμένα) the gift of Christ Our Lord'. It then passes to describe the Invocation, which is an explicit and effective form comparable to that of Jerusalem (p. 69) in relation to the Gifts, as also to the communicants.

p. 105. Then begins the Intercession with mention of the departed: the Fraction, Consignation, Intinction, and Communion follow. There is no sign of the Lord's Prayer, but a short diaconal litany and a priest's prayer lead on to the Elevation and Greeting of Peace, to which the people reply with bowed heads. The deacon calls the communicants, and the priest warns with 'The Holy thing for the holies': and they reply 'One Holy Father', &c., with doxology.

p. 110. The prayers ended, the Communion takes place. For the priest and clergy it is at the altar; for others at a communion table set separately. They receive coming with eyes downcast and hands outstretched, receiving in the right hand placed above the left, while the priest says 'The Body of Christ': and the answer is *Amen*. Similarly with the Chalice. The following directions are added (p. 114; cp. *L.E.W.* 466): 'You press (the Body) with great and true love to your eyes and kiss it, and offer your prayers as if to Christ our Lord.' . . . 'You remain in the church, so that you may also offer thanksgiving and praise with every one.'

With this description may well be compared the account given by Narsai about fifty years later, c. 437 (ed. Connolly, *Cambr. Texts and Studies*).

X

THE EGYPTIAN EVIDENCE

CONTEMPORARY with the rite of Jerusalem, but in a different area and under different influences, is the Prayer-book of Sarapion,¹ bishop of Thmuis in the Delta of Egypt, a correspondent of Athanasius, a friend of St. Anthony, a writer and a man of learning. His collection of prayers gives us the text of an Anaphora. It was probably in origin a personal one for his own episcopal use: but the fact that the collection has now come down to us, with his name attached to some of the prayers, suggests that it had also a wider vogue. The first of the thirty prayers is the bishop's Anaphora, and Nos. 2-6 give the subsequent part of the Liturgy: the early part of it appears in Nos. 19-30: the intervening prayers, 7-18, concern other services—Baptism, Ordination, Unction of the Sick, and Burial.

Thus we have an Egyptian Liturgy of the middle of the fourth century to scan. The structure of the Anaphora needs description first. It opens with 'It is meet and right', evidently responding to the usual dialogue. The glory of the Eternal Father is first set forth in four brief sentences each beginning 'We praise Thee' followed by a homage addressed to Him as the source of life, light, grace, and truth, and by a recognition of His love for poor man, in a universal reconciliation and the drawing of all to Himself through the coming of His beloved Son. Then comes a prayer for a gift of the Holy Spirit, giving life and light, knowledge and utterance; and, with the Lord Jesus, enabling our worship.

This leads to what is probably the fixed introduction to the 'Sanctus', which is in briefest form. That in turn is bedded in by the fixed catchword 'Full is the heaven, and full is the earth',

¹ First published by A. Dmitrievsky at Kiev in 1894. Accessible and useful are Brightman's Text and Study, published in *J.T.S.*, vol. i (1900), 88-113, 247-77; and Wordsworth's English Translation (S.P.C.K., 1899). See also Funk, *Didascalia*, *Ec.*, ii, pp. xl, 158-203, where the order of the prayers is rearranged. The Anaphora begins at p. 172. *Εὐχή προσφύρου Σαραπίωνος ἐπισκόπου.*

&c. 'Fill also this sacrifice with Thy power and co-operation, for to Thee have we offered this living sacrifice, this bloodless offering.'¹

The act of sacrifice is thus not confined to its usual place, but distributed through the course of the Recital.

'To Thee have we offered this Bread, the likeness of the Body of the Only-begotten. This Bread is the likeness of the holy Body. For Our Lord Jesus Christ in the same night, &c.'²

After mention of the Bread follows a quotation from the *Didache* (ix. 4) about the scattered grains becoming one in the Church.

Then similarly an Act of sacrifice is associated with the Cup.

Then comes an invocation, not of the Holy Spirit, but of the Logos: abruptly, because since there has not been said 'Do this in remembrance of Me', therefore there is no Anamnesis or catch-word to link it on. It runs: 'O God of Truth, may Thy Holy Word come down upon this bread, that the bread may become the Body of the Word; and upon this cup, that the cup may become Blood of Truth.'³

It is followed by prayer for good communion ending with the doxology 'for Thee the Uncreate have we invoked, through the Only-begotten, in Holy Spirit'. Then come prayers for the living, for the departed (with list of names), for the offerers, with a repetition of the preceding doxology to which the people reply 'As it was, and is, and shall be from one generation to another, and to all the ages of the ages. Amen.'

¹ Πλήρης ἐστὶν ὁ οὐρανός, πλήρης ἐστὶν καὶ ἡ γῆ . . . πλήρωσον καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην . . . &c. (Funk, ii. 174.)

² Σοὶ προσηγάμεν τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, τὸ ὁμοίωμα τοῦ σώματος τοῦ μονογενοῦς. 'Ὁ ἄρτος οὗτος τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος ἐστὶν ὁμοίωμα· ὅτι ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ἐν ᾧ νυκτί &c.—the Recital (first part) with comments and prayers. (Funk, ii, p. 174.) Similarly προσηγάμεν δὲ καὶ τὸ ποτήριον, τὸ ὁμοίωμα τοῦ αἵματος· ὅτι ὁ Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός λαβὼν κτλ. Note the insistence laid before the Recital on the likeness (ὁμοίωμα) of the Body and Blood.

³ Ἐπιδημησάτω, θεὲ τῆς ἀληθείας, ὁ ἅγιός σου λόγος ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, ἵνα γένηται ὁ ἄρτος σῶμα τοῦ λόγου, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο ἵνα γενήται τὸ ποτήριον αἶμα τῆς ἀληθείας. (Funk, ii, p. 174.)

It is not easy to see what value or authority should be attached to this Anaphora. While it follows in many respects the usual outline, it has peculiarities which perhaps represent only the author, Sarapion. The unity of the Preamble is gone: the recitation of the Institution is peculiar; the Anamnesis is absent; and instead of it there are repeated acts of offering, which are inserted into the Recital in connexion with the Bread and Cup, and with them separately from one another. This is quite unusual in structure, and also in expression. The absence of Anamnesis excludes the Memorial Sacrifice from being expressed as is usual. Instead there follows the unbalanced Logos invocation with its double appeal to the 'God of Truth'.

Sarapion's invocation followed the usual line of an explicit invocation to consecrate. But he was much imbued with the Logos theology. Already in the early part of the Anaphora he had spoken of the Father as 'knowing the Son and revealing all His glories to the saints; being made known by His begotten Word, seen and interpreted to the saints'. But as in the baptismal service his predilection emerges; for it also includes a Logos invocation for hallowing the water, where others invoke the Holy Spirit, and one which, moreover, speaks of a transforming to be done thereby.¹ A reference to the descent of the Logos into Jordan at the Baptism follows; and later on the appeal is made that the Only-begotten Word may be the guide of the catechumen.

Similarly here in the Liturgy the appeal to God is for the intervention of the Word. This seems to require some explanation. Already we have met in Irenaeus, and perhaps Justin, some forecast of this, attributing eucharistic activity to the Logos. (p. 43).

'When the mingled cup and the made bread receives the Word of God and becomes the Eucharist, the Body of Christ.'²

In this respect, then, he was but extending the Logos doctrine of the Apologists; and the Alexandrines were to go farther.

¹ Above, p. 73.

² ἐπιδέχεται τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ (Irenaeus, bk. v, cap. 2, § 3): above, p. 36.

It has already been indicated (p. 43) how in early days, even during the first stage of the contest with Arianism, i.e. down to the Council of Nicea (325), the time was not yet ripe for the learned to devote themselves to the theology of the Holy Spirit which underlies the developed eucharistic invocation. The relation of the Second and Third Persons of the Holy Trinity, and notably of the Logos to the Holy Spirit, was only gradually becoming clear. It may be impossible to decide exactly what St. Justin meant when he described the mode of the eucharistic conversion as δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ (p. 31). But in those quarters where it was held that the mode was either by some invocation, or else by the whole prayer, sometimes it is an invocation of the Logos that is specified or implied, as in Clement of Alexandria and also in Origen. Alexandria was the stronghold of this view; but the conception was far from clear. St. Clement has a curious passage where he discusses the mixing of the water with the wine, bringing in also the Logos to take a part in the Eucharist.¹ [*M.E.L.* 982.]

Another passage from St. Clement makes matters but little plainer² [*M.E.L.* 1020]. However, it is interesting to note the emphasis laid on the Sacrifice; and also that it is offered as an honour 'to the most righteous Word'.

This Alexandrine way of speaking Origen modified and carried on after St. Clement. At an earlier stage (p. 42) he seemed to be ascribing the consecration to the Anaphora as a whole, or else to prayer and supplication generally. It remains now to continue this inquiry as to his teaching, in what is a more developed and, perhaps, a later stage. He preserved the ambiguity of the Logos language in this connexion. It was a disturbing element in Christology generally: but when once the invocation of the

¹ ἡ δὲ ἀμφοῖν αὐθις κρᾶσις ποτοῦ τε καὶ Λόγου εὐχαριστία καλεῖται. (Paed. II. ii; *G.C.S.* i. 168.) See Connolly's *Narsai*, l.c., on this passage, at p. 157.

² ἡμεῖς δι' εὐχῆς τιμῶμεν τὸν Θεόν, καὶ ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν ἀρίστην καὶ ἀγιωτάτην μετὰ δικαιοσύνης ἀναπέμπομεν τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ λόγῳ γεραίροντες, δι' οὗ παραλαμβάνομεν τὴν γνώσιν, διὰ τούτου δοξάζοντες αὐτὸν μεμαθήκαμεν. ἔστι γοῦν τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν θυσιαστήριον ἐνταῦθα τὸ ἐπίγειον [τὸ] ἄθροισμα τῶν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ἀνακειμένων. (*Strom.* VII. vi. 31; *G.C.S.* iii, p. 23.)

Logos came into the Anaphora it made an easy stepping-stone to an intelligible invocation of the Holy Spirit.

Where this ambiguity prevailed, there survived alongside of it the old reluctance to use realist language as to the result of the change, and the tendency to explain by means of some word such as antitypon, or homoioma; symbol, image (ikon) or figure; typus, or figura.¹

A strong influence, which perhaps radiated from Jerusalem, arose to overcome both of these ambiguities, viz. as to the mode, and as to the effect, of consecration. Meanwhile both ambiguities survived.²

As to the reality of the conversion, however, Origen speaks with conviction, basing argument upon it, though at times his love for mystical interpretation leads him to sound otherwise, and his use of the term Logos is very baffling.

¹ ἀντίτυπον is perhaps the commonest—it is used by Cyril Jer., *Cat.* xxii. 3, xxiii. 20; Greg. Naz. *Or.* viii. 18, and, one of the earliest, by A.C., (ed. Funk,) v. 14, 7; vi. 30, 2; vii. 25, 4. See Tixeront, *Dogmes*, ii. 172–8. For ὁμοίωμα see above, p. 77, note 2, σύμβολον, below, note 2, εἰκὼν or figura, p. 37, note 2. In the fifth century such hesitating or reluctant language was rejected.

² Origen's longest passage is in the Commentary on the text of the Institution (Mt. xxvi. 26–8):

‘Panis iste quem Deus Verbum corpus suum esse fatetur verbum est nutritorium animarum, verbum de deo verbo procedens et panis de pane caelesti. . . . Et potus iste quem Deus Verbum sanguinem suum fatetur, verbum est potans et inebrians praeclare corda bibentium. . . .’

Then quoting as illustration John, xv. 1 and Isai. lxiii. 3 for the wine and John xii. 24 for the bread, he explains:

‘Non enim panem illum visibilem quem tenebat in manibus corpus suum dicebat Deus Verbum, sed verbum in cuius mysterio fuerat panis ille frangendus: nec potum illud visibilem sanguinem suum dicebat, sed verbum in cuius mysterio potus ille fuerit effundendus. Nam corpus Dei Verbi aut sanguis quid aliud potest esse nisi Verbum quod nutrit et Verbum quod laetificat cor’, &c. (Origen, *In Matth.* Com. lxxxv; G.C.S. xi. 196.)

Brief illustrative passages are the following:

‘Nobis et panis, Verbum dei est.’ (*In Exod.* vii. 8; G.C.S. vi, p. 214.)

‘Carnibus et sanguine verbi sui, tanquam mundo cibo ac potu, potat et refecit omne hominum genus.’ (*In Lev.* vii. 5, cp. ix. 10; *ibid.* 386, 438.)

In a more cautious mood he says:

ἐστι δὲ καὶ σύμβολον ἡμῖν τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν εὐχαριστίας, ἄρτος εὐχαριστία καλούμενος. (*Contra Celsum*; *ibid.* viii. 57; G.C.S. ii, p. 274.)

And perhaps his most developed view—trinitarian, and recognizing the Holy Spirit's share, runs thus:

ἄρτους ἐφ’ ὧν ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. (*In I Corinth.* § xxxiv, edited in *J.T.S.* ix (1908), p. 502.)

There comes now in this connexion the Dialogue which goes by the name of Adamantius, and is assigned by some to Origen. Its attitude to the Eucharist is definitely realist: indeed, the realism is used (as elsewhere) as a postulate from which to argue against the heretics: but nothing is said of the mode, nor yet of the benefits; except that, as St. Paul guarantees (1 Cor. x. 16), they are good.¹ But Rufinus, in his paraphrase for Latin readers, introduces the conception that consecration is by a gift of the Holy Spirit.

The value to us of the Anaphora of Sarapion is great. There has been before us nothing comparable for completeness since the Hippolytean Anaphora, dating back nearly a century and a half. The manuscript, found at Athos, is of the eleventh century; being unlike the official Liturgies of the Great Churches, this seems to have held its ground as a personal production, and to have escaped the transformation which daily use gradually brings about. It is therefore the date of the author rather than that of the manuscript which matters.²

It must not be supposed that Sarapion was indifferent on the subject of the Holy Spirit. On the contrary, he was so much distressed with the minimizing that he found prevalent on the subject that he appealed to St. Athanasius, then in the desert (c. 359); and a correspondence ensued of which we have the share of St. Athanasius, in the four letters to Serapion (*P.G.* xxvi, 525-676). The reassurances which the saint gave to the bishop were mainly concerned with proving that the Holy Spirit was not a creature, and establishing, not very completely, His place

¹ Τὸ δὲ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας τὸν τε ἄρτον ὃν κλῶμεν, ἥνικα ἂν λέγῃ τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Κυρίου εἶναι κοινωνίαν, οὐχὶ πάντως καὶ ἀγαθὰ συνυπακούεσθαι βούλεται; εἰ δὲ μή, πρὸς τὰ πονηρὰ ἔσται ἡ τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ κοινωνία.

This is represented in the Latin version of Rufinus by the following passage:

'Tunc deinde de ipsa substantia creaturae in qua sacramenta confecit Christus et signacula corporis sui sanguinisque designat, nonne materiam corporis spiritus sancti largitione sanctificat?' (Adamantius, *Dial. de recta fide*, pp. 108, 109; *G.C.S.* iv, ed. Bakhuyzen, 1901.)

² Early manuscripts of Greek Liturgies (except the Barberini MS. *L.E.W.* lxxxviii, of the end of the eighth century) are very rare. The oldest are usually of the tenth or eleventh century.

in the Holy Trinity. Nothing is said of any connexion with the Liturgy. So far as the Alexandrine Rite is concerned any Invocation of the Holy Spirit is not demonstrable till the time of Peter of Alexandria (373–80), the successor of St. Athanasius. He, in a letter describing the scandals that took place in Alexandria in Arian times, says that unheard-of profanation took place 'on the holy altar itself, where we invoke the descent of the Holy Spirit'.¹

St. Athanasius himself, in his extant writings, has little to say of his own views on the Eucharist: but he is clearly realist. Unfortunately his sermons to the newly baptized have not been preserved: but two extracts from one of them, incorporated in a sermon of Eutychius, twice Patriarch of Constantinople (552–82), are informing. They show not only the realism but the continuance under St. Athanasius of the tradition that it is the 'prayers and supplications' that are consecratory, and that the mode in which they find their climax is an invocation and descent of the Word.²

These utterances of the successive Alexandrian patriarchs show the change that was taking place. As the fifth century began it was becoming dominant.

There is a translation made by St. Jerome of the Second Paschal Letter of Theophilus of Alexandria (402 or 404) in which, during the course of an attack on Origen, the patriarch complains that he denies the operation of the Holy Spirit upon inanimate things and consequently does not recognize His work in the waters of Baptism, or realize that it is by the invocation and His coming upon the eucharistic offerings that they are sanctified.³

¹ 'Ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου θυσιαστηρίου ἔνθα κάθοδον τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐπικαλούμεθα. (Theodoret, *Eccl. Hist.* iv. 19; P.G. lxxxii. 1169.)

² "Ὅφει τοὺς λευίτας φέροντας ἄρτους καὶ ποτήριον οἶνον, καὶ τιθέντας ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν. Καὶ ὅσον οὕτω ἱκεσίαι καὶ δεήσεις γίνονται, ψιλὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ἄρτος καὶ τὸ ποτήριον· ἐπ' αὐτὸν δὲ ἐπιτελέσθωσιν αἱ μεγάλαι καὶ θαυμασταὶ εὐχαί, τότε γίνεται ὁ ἄρτος σῶμα, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον αἷμα, τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

And again, 'Ἐλθῶμεν ἐπὶ τὴν τελείωσιν τῶν μυστηρίων. Οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον, ὅσον οὕτω εὐχαὶ καὶ ἱκεσίαι γεγόνασιν ψιλὰ ἐστὶν· ἐπὶ αὐτῶν δὲ αἱ μεγάλαι εὐχαὶ καὶ αἱ ἅγαι ἱκεσίαι ἀναπεμφθῶσι, καταβαίνει ὁ λόγος εἰς τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον, καὶ γίνεται αὐτοῦ σῶμα. (Athanasius, in P.G. lxxxvi. 2401; or xxvi. 1325.)

³ 'Dicit enim Spiritum sanctum non operari ea quae inanima sunt nec ad

So at last, for the patriarch at least, the Eucharist has taken its place, alongside with Baptism, as an evidence which may be securely quoted as an argument about the Holy Spirit's work.

Fresh light was thrown on the Egyptian Rite by three considerable fragments of a papyrus,¹ now in the Bodleian at Oxford. They were found among the ruins of a Coptic convent, called 'Dêr Balyzeh', in Upper Egypt; and were identified by Crum in 1907 as part of a liturgy, resembling that of St. Mark, written in fine Greek script of the seventh or eighth century. Two of them seem to be concerned with the earlier part of the service—part of a litany, a very succinct form of creed, preceded or followed by part of a prayer.²

The third fragment (C) is more complete and clear. It contains part of the Anaphora, beginning with the introduction to the 'Sanctus', which leads up to a formula like that in St. Mark.³ The 'Sanctus' itself is in a short form, ending with 'full of Thy glory': it is linked to what follows of the Preamble by the catchword 'Fill us too with the glory that is from Thee', and then comes a very unusual feature—nothing less than an explicit

irrationabilia pervenire. Quod asserens non recogitat aquas in baptismate mysticas adventu S. Spiritus consecrari: panemque dominicum quo saluatoris corpus ostenditur, et quem frangimus in sanctificationem nostri, et sacrum calicem (quae in mensa ecclesiae collocantur et utique inanima sunt) per invocationem S. Spiritus sanctificari.' (Jerome, *Epist.* xcvi. 13, in *P.L.* xxii. 801.)

¹ See this, with facsimile, transcription, and commentary, in *D.A.C.L.* II. ii. 1881-95.

² The place of fragment B is disputed by T. Scherman in *Der Liturg. Papyrus*. Leipzig, 1910.

³ Πάντα δὲ πάντοτέ σε ἀγιάζει· ἀλλὰ μετὰ πάντων τῶν σε ἀγιαζόντων δέξαι καὶ ἡμέτερον ἁγιασμόν, λεγόντων σοι. (Cp. *L.E.W.* 132.) Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, Κύριος σαβαώθ, πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης σου. Πλήρωσον καὶ ἡμᾶς τῆς παρά σου δόξης, καὶ καταξίωσον καταπέμψαι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιόν σου ἐπὶ τὰ κτίσματα ταῦτα· καὶ ποιήσον τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὸ δὲ ποτήριον αἶμα τῆς καίνης . . .

Here comes the turn of the leaf: and when the verso is readable, the recital of the Institution has been reached: line 4 has the words τοῖς μα[θηταῖς], line 5 has εἰπὼν λ[άβετε], and the rest follows in an interesting form, not unlike that of St. Mark.

Invocation of the Holy Spirit, placed in this strange position and phrased thus:

‘And vouchsafe to send Thy Holy Spirit upon these creatures: and make the bread, the Body of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and the Cup, the Blood of the new [covenant].’

This precedes the Recital of the Institution. The Recital has its points of interest; but there is no need to stop on them. It ends, much as in St. Mark: ‘ye show My death, and confess My memorial.’ This is then resumed as the beginning of the Anamnesis and Invocation with the catchword ‘We show Thy death and confess Thy resurrection, and we beseech Thee . . .’

At this point, most tantalizingly, the last available fragment of the papyrus ends.

It seems to be leading on to the normal invocation, as in St. Mark (*L.E.W.* 133), though the address in the catchword has swerved aside to Christ apparently, and, if so, this is irregular, and a sign of decadence.

In the absence of the rest of the Anaphora it is impossible to be certain how it continued; but the presumption is that it went on like St. Mark;¹ and thus it must have had two invocations of the Holy Spirit. Indeed, even the later St. Mark shows traces of having had once an invocation before the Recital—perhaps a quite simple one—as well as the explicit and developed invocation that now follows it. What in its later form it retained after the ‘Sanctus’ was only ‘Fill, O God, this sacrifice too with the

¹ The words *καὶ δεόμεθα*, the last preserved, are probably to be taken as the opening of the Anamnesis and the opening of the Invocation. They are so in the Egyptian Anaphora of St. Basil (Renaudot, *Liturg. Or. Coll.* (1715), i. 67): and they are to be seen here embedded in the later verbose form which the Invocation took in the later St. Mark. The two correspond thus:

Papyrus: Τὸν θάνατόν σου καταγγέλλομεν, τὴν ἀνάστασιν [σου ὁμολογοῦμ]εν, καὶ δεόμεθα τ. (end). [This is a good instance of a ‘swerve’.]

St. Mark: Τὸν θάνατον . . . τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ . . . καταγγέλλοντες, καὶ τὴν . . . ἀνάστασιν ὁμολογοῦντες, καὶ τὴν . . . ἀνάληψιν . . . καὶ τὴν . . . κάθεδραν καὶ τὴν δευτέραν . . . παρουσίαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι . . ., σοὶ ἐκ τῶν σῶν δώρων προεθήκαμεν ἐνώπιόν σου, “καὶ δεόμεθα” καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε φιλάνθρωπε, ἀγαθέ, ἐξαπόστειλον . . . τὸν παράκλητον, τὸ πνεῦμα . . . ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τούτους καὶ τὰ ποτήρια ταῦτα τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον, ἵνα αὐτὰ ἀγιάσῃ . . . καὶ ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον . . .

blessing from Thee through the advent (*ἐπιφοίτησις*) of Thine all-holy Spirit': and the Recital followed.

That preliminary invocation deserves more attention than it has received. It may be taken to be an early feature, preserved in its old place before the Recital, and in its old simplicity of statement, remaining on unchanged even when Alexandria later adopted the developed form of invocation and placed it (as others did) after the Recital. Alternatively it may be (as suggested above) the relics of an invocation left behind when the bulk of the Invocation was removed to follow the Recital. Or again it may be the relics of an attempt to get rid of the difficulties which Latin thought had begun to feel about any invocation coming after the Dominical Words: such an attempt may very possibly have been made at a certain stage in Alexandria under Roman influence.

In any case, this seems to imply that there was no Anamnesis of any length after the end of the Recital. Two clauses survive, and they are linked on to the Recital by repeating the two preceding verbs, 'we show forth' and 'we confess', not by any reference to Anamnesis or 'we remember'.

Thus, exploring Egypt, we pass on from the Anaphora of Sarapion till we reach the Oxford Papyrus, which is later by some four centuries. It is the interval in which the predominant orthodox liturgies called after St. James, St. Mark, St. Basil, and St. Chrysostom were taking their shape, as well as the rivals belonging to the non-orthodox bodies—Jacobite, Coptic, Armenian, Nestorian, Ethiopic, &c.

XI

THE INFLUENCE OF JERUSALEM

THE influence of Jerusalem was developing and spreading widely in the last quarter of the fourth century: its great days extended from the time of Constantine to the capture by the Persians, i.e. 314-614. St. Helena came there in 326 and began the restorations. Pilgrims flocked there; residents settled there, for the sake of the holy places, the great buildings, and the services that developed in them. These formed an annual course of rites of many kinds, over and above the liturgy. For one of the pilgrims at least, the Spanish nun Etheria (or Silvia), it was these rites, which were new and infectious, and about which she mainly desired to write home. But in the matter of the liturgy also the influence of Jerusalem spread by degrees. We have noted its effect on the Egyptian Rite, and in remote Persia. We may suspect it in the service described by Theodore of Mop-suestia for Cilicia (p. 73).

Elsewhere more conservative influences prevailed for a time. This is the case with the group of Cappadocian Fathers. St. Basil († 379) evidently felt that the matter of an invocation of the Holy Ghost to consecrate at the Eucharist was too novel to argue from it in his book on the Holy Spirit; he felt on firmer and older ground in citing the familiar instance of the use of such an invocation to consecrate the font. Yet, from another point of view, speaking of the twofold authority of Scripture and of Tradition he says:

‘As to the words of invocation pronounced at the manifestation (*ἀναδείξις*) of the Bread of the Eucharist and the Cup of Blessing, which of the saints left them to us in writing? Of course we are not merely content with what the Apostle or the Gospel recorded; but we say previously and subsequently other things. They have great effect in regard to the mystery, so we take them over from unwritten teaching.’¹

¹ *Τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ*

Thus St. Basil, in 374, defends the Invocation as manifesting the conversion, quoting the characteristic word 'anadeixis' which still stands in the Invocation of the Liturgy which is called by his name. The opponents apparently raised the cry 'The Bible and Bible only'. St. Basil replied that this would rule out the use of the sign of the cross, the custom of praying to the East, the use of a consecratory invocation in the Eucharist and at the blessing of the font, the use of chrism, triple immersion in baptism and the renunciation of Satan. These consequences clearly he takes to be inadmissible. Incidentally he excludes any 'Words-theory' as an explanation of the Eucharistic change. But he does not explicitly speak of an invocation of the Holy Spirit; and it is quite possible that, as he does not do so, the invocation in his mind, and mentioned incidentally, was one of the Logos.

His brother, St. Gregory of Nyssa, however, spoke of St. Basil's invocation as one of fire (like Elijah's), which he takes to represent the Holy Spirit.¹ Gregory's own utterances seem to vary: at one time he speaks of the hallowing by the Spirit,² and at another time by the Word.³ This position is evidently transitional.

Similarly St. Gregory of Nazianzus remains under the Alexandrine influence and favours a Logos-invocation,⁴ while the others were moving away from it into the sphere of influence from

ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας τίς τῶν ἁγίων ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπεν; Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τούτοις ἀρκούμεθα ὧν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἡ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐπεμνήσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ προλέγομεν καὶ ἐπιλέγομεν ἕτερα, ὡς μεγάλην ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸ μυστήριον τὴν ἰσχυν, ἐκ τῆς ἀγράφου διδασκαλίας παραλαβόντες. (*On the Holy Spirit*, xxvii; P.G. xxxii. 188.)

¹ Ἡ δὲ ἱερωσύνη τοῦ διδασκάλου μιμεῖται τὰ τῆς ἱερωσύνης τοῦ προφήτου αἰνύγματα, διὰ τοῦ περισσεύειν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς πίστεως τὸ οὐράνιον πῦρ τὰς ἱεουργίας ἐφέλκομένην. Πῦρ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος δύναμιν καλεῖσθαι πολλαχῇ παρὰ τῆς γραφῆς ἐδιδάχθημεν. (*Funeral Oration of Basil*, P.G. xli. 805.)

² Ὁ ἄρτος πάλιν ἄρτος ἐστὶ τέως κοινός· ἀλλ' ὅταν αὐτὸν τὸ μυστήριον ἱεουργήσῃ, σῶμα Χριστοῦ λέγεται τε καὶ γίνεται. Οὕτως τὸ μυστικὸν ἔλαιον, οὕτως ὁ οἶνος, ὀλίγου τινὸς ἄξια ὄντα πρὸ τῆς εὐλογίας, μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τὸν τοῦ πνεύματος, ἐκάτερον αὐτῶν ἐνεργεῖ διαφορῶς. (*Homily on the Baptism of Christ*, P.G. xlv. 581.)

³ Τὸ δὲ σῶμα τῇ ἐνοικίῃ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου πρὸς τὴν θεϊκὴν ἀξίαν μετεποίηθη· καλῶς οὖν καὶ νῦν τὸν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ θεοῦ ἁγιαζόμενον ἄρτον εἰς σῶμα τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου μεταποιεῖσθαι πιστεύομαι. (*Orat. Catech.* xxxvii, P.G. xlv. 96.)

⁴ Μὴ κατόκει καὶ προσεύχεσθαι καὶ πρεσβεῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, ὅταν λόγῳ καθέλκης τὸν λόγον, ὅταν ἀναιμάκτῳ τομῇ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τέμνης δεσποτικόν, φωνὴν ἔχων τὸ ξίφος. (*Ep. 171 ad Amphiloichium*, P.G. xxxvii, 280.)

Jerusalem and the adoption of a consecratory invocation of the Holy Ghost. He shows up, however, the inconvenience for the theological purposes of the play upon the word *Logos*.

Of St. Chrysostom it may also be said that he seems to be passing through an era of transition; not, of course, with regard to the reality of eucharistic consecration, but with reference to the mode. Insisting, very naturally, that it is not the work of man but of the crucified Christ, he says that 'the priest is set to represent Him in uttering those sayings; but the power and grace is of God. Christ says "This is my Body": and this saying transforms the offerings.'¹ Here and elsewhere the emphasis is on the original word or work of our Lord.²

But notwithstanding this insistence on the all-importance of Christ's words of administration, and of the rehearsal and reassertion of them by the voice of the celebrant, Chrysostom does not ignore the work of the Holy Spirit in the Eucharist. There is, indeed, no clear conception of it expressed as yet; but the orator inserts a rather clumsy reference to it when he desires the communicants, as new-born babes, to suck rich from the chalice the grace of the Spirit.³

Clearer is what he has to say in his treatise on the ministry. The worshipper must realize, when he sees the Lord sacrificed and laid out, and the priest standing at the Sacrifice and praying over it, and all reddened by that precious Blood, that he is transported from earth to heaven. 'Oh the marvel of God's love that He who is seated above with the Father is then held in the hands of all, and giving Himself to those who desire! . . . All this

¹ Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν ὁ ποιῶν τὰ προκειμένα γενέσθαι σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ, ἀλλ' αὐτός ὁ σταυρωθεὶς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν Χριστός. Σχῆμα πληρῶν ἔστηκεν ὁ ἱερεὺς, τὰ ῥήματα φθεγγόμενος ἕκκεινα· ἡ δὲ δύναμις καὶ ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστι. "Τοῦτό μού ἐστι σῶμα" φῆσαι· τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα μεταρρυθμίζει τὰ προκειμένα. (*Hom. I. De prodizione Iudae. 6, P.G. xlix. 380.*)

² The explanation is then given that the word once spoken (like the words of creation once spoken) have a lasting and universal efficacy.

³ Προσιώμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ τραπέζῃ ταύτῃ καὶ τῇ θηλῇ τοῦ ποτηρίου τοῦ πνευματικοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ μετὰ πολλῷ πλεονόσῳ, ὥς παῖδια ὑπομάζια τοῦ πνεύματος τὴν χάριν. Καὶ μία ἡμῖν ἔστω ὁδὸν, τὸ μὴ μετασχεῖν ταύτης τῆς τροφῆς. Οὐκ ἐστιν ἀνθρωπίνης δυνάμεως ἔργα τὰ προκείμενα· Ὅ τότε ταῦτα ποιήσας ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ δείπνῳ οὗτος καὶ νῦν αὐτὰ ἐργάζεται. (*In Mat. lxxxii. 5, P.G. lviii. 744.*)

is to be seen with the eyes of faith . . . ' There is a second marvel, too, which the sacrifice of Carmel illustrates—the sacrifice prepared, the silent crowd, the fire coming from heaven at the prophet's prayer. So 'the priest stands here, bearing not fire but the Holy Spirit, and makes the great supplication, . . . that thereby the grace descending upon the sacrifice may kindle the souls of all, and exhibit them brighter than refined silver'.¹

Elsewhere the emphasis is laid on the work of the Holy Spirit or invocation.

'The priest stands at the Holy Table with arms outstretched to heaven, calling upon the Holy Spirit to be present and touch the Gifts';² and there follows the response—His grace, His descent, His touch.

'It is not human power that can deal with the Gifts, but the Spirit's grace comes and implements that mystical sacrifice.'³

'Otherwise there would be no sacramental Body and Blood.'⁴

'The common bread becomes heavenly Bread by the coming upon it of the Spirit.'⁵

Here is the mind of Chrysostom displayed; there is little or nothing formal said about the mode of conversion. The explicit form of invocation has perhaps not come yet for Chrysostom at Antioch at the end of the fourth century, though the insistence upon the Spirit's share is repeated.

But that strong word 'transforms' belongs to a passage which

¹ *Ἐστηκε γὰρ ὁ ἱερεὺς οὐ πῦρ καταφέρων, ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ τὴν ἱκετηρίαν ἐπὶ πολλὴ ποιεῖται· οὐκ ἵνα τις λαμπὰς ἄνωθεν ἀφεθείσα καταναλώσῃ τὰ προκειμένα, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἡ χάρις ἐπιπεσοῦσα τῇ θυσίᾳ δι' ἐκείνης τὰς ἀπάντων ἀνάψῃ ψυχὰς, καὶ ἀργυρίου λαμπροτέρας ἀποδείξῃ πεπυρωμένον.* (*De sacerdotibus* iii. 4, P.G. xlviii. 642.)

² *Ὅταν ἐστήκῃ πρὸ τῆς τραπέζης ὁ ἱερεὺς τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνων εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, καλῶν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τοῦ παραγένεσθαι καὶ ἀψᾶσθαι τῶν προκειμένων, πόλλῃ ἡσυχίᾳ, πόλλῃ σιγῇ. ὅταν διδῷ τὴν χάριν τὸ πνεῦμα, ὅταν κατέλθῃ, ὅταν ἀψῇται τῶν προκειμένων, τότε θόρυβον, τότε ταραχὴν, τότε φιλονεικίαν τότε λοιδορίαν ἐπεισάγεις;* (*De cemetery*, 3, P.G. xlix. 397.)

³ *Οὐδὲν αὐτὸς ὁ παρὼν πράττει, οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπίνης ἐστὶ φύσεως κατορθώματα τὰ προκειμένα δῶρα, ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος χάρις παροῦσα, καὶ πᾶσιν ἐφιπταμένη, τὴν μυστικὴν ἐκείνην κατασκευάζει θυσίαν.* (*De Pentecoste*, i. 4, P.G. l. 458.)

⁴ *Σῶμα γὰρ καὶ αἷμα μυστικὸν οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο, τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτος χάρις.* (*De Resurr.* 8, P.G. l. 432.)

⁵ *Πρῶτον περὶ τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ διαλέγεται, λέγων "Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος τῆς ζωῆς". . . . Καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνη διὰ τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον ἄρτος ἐστίν· ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος διὰ τὸ ἐπιφοιτῶν αὐτῷ πνεῦμα ἄρτος οὐράνιος γίνεται.* (*In Joan.* xlv. 2, P.G. lix. 253.)

lays the emphasis on the Dominical Words (above, p. 88, note 1); while other passages lay it rather upon the action of Christ.

There is no inconsistency involved: the time had not yet come when minds were clear; still less had the unhappy circumstances come in which controversialists magnified this difference of emphasis into a quarrel.

St. Chrysostom would not be supposed to be taking a side on a controversy which did not yet exist when, speaking of the work of the clergy and the virtue of their office, he said that 'God's words which He spoke are the same as the priest says now, and so the Offering is the same, and so is the baptism which He gave'.¹ He constantly cites our Lord's action to show the unity and authority of the rite; but the striking thing is his continual reference to the participation of the Holy Spirit in the Eucharist, for that is the new development which has come in, and is being taken up by St. Chrysostom.

As this part of the story has been consistently minimized and obscured in the interest of the Latin view of consecration, and in the attempt to represent the saint as a whole-hearted supporter of it, it may be well to cite some further examples.

Contrasting the approach of the Magi with that of the communicant he says: 'Thou dost not see Him in a manger, but on the altar, no Woman holding Him, but the priest standing by; and the Spirit in His full richness flying upon the gifts.'²

Commenting on Heb. viii. 5 he places first among the heavenly things ministered by the priests: 'when our Lord Jesus Christ lies slain, when the Spirit comes.'³

¹ Ἡ προσφορά ἡ αὐτὴ ἐστὶ, καθὼς ὁ τυχὼν προσενέγκῃ, καθὼς Παῦλος, καθὼς Πέτρος· ἡ αὐτὴ ἐστίν, ἣν ὁ Χριστὸς τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἔδωκε, καὶ ἣν νῦν οἱ ἱερεῖς ποιοῦσι. οὐδὲν αὐτῇ ἐλάττων ἐκείνης, ὅτι καὶ ταύτην οὐκ ἀνθρωποὶ ἀγιάζουσιν ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὁ καὶ ἐκείνην ἀγιάσας. Ὡσπερ γὰρ τὰ ῥήματα ἅπερ ὁ Θεὸς ἐφθέγγετο τὰ αὐτὰ ἐστὶν ἅπερ ὁ ἱερεὺς καὶ νῦν λέγει, οὕτω καὶ ἡ προσφορά ἡ αὐτὴ ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὅπερ ἔδωκεν. (Hom. 2 in 2 Tim. c. 4, P.G. lxii. 612.)

² Σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἐν φάτνῃ ὄρῃς, ἀλλ' ἐν θυσιαστηρίῳ, οὐ γυναῖκα κατέχουσιν ἀλλ' ἱερέα παρεστῶτα, καὶ Πνεῦμα μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς δαψυλείας τοῖς προκειμένοις ἐπιπτάμενον. (Hom. 24 in 1 Cor. c. 5, P.G. lxi. 204.)

³ Ὅταν γὰρ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς κείται ἐσφαγμένος, ὅταν Πνεῦμα παραγίνηται. (Hom. 14 in Hebr. c. 1, P.G. lxxiii. 111.)

He reproves those who stayed, but did not communicate, pleading unworthiness: 'Surely if unworthy of partaking, unworthy also of sharing in the prayers. For it is not only through the gifts, but also through those canticles that the Holy Spirit pervading descends.'¹

Again, 'The celebrant calls the Holy Spirit and accomplishes the most dread sacrifice'.² This description recurs.

These excerpts do not show in each case that the transformation was ascribed to the Holy Spirit, but that He occupied an undeniable place in it. Further instances might be given from his writings,³ but it is not necessary.

The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom with its Invocation, if not formulated and imposed by him,⁴ is at any rate representative of his constant teaching, or, at the very least, the natural development of it.⁵

'Send down Thy Holy Spirit upon us and upon the gifts set before Thee, and make this bread to be the precious Body of Christ, changing it by Thy Holy Spirit, Amen; and that which is in this Cup to be the precious Blood of Thy Christ, changing it by Thy Holy Spirit, Amen, so as to be to the partakers for sobriety of soul, for forgiveness of sins, for the fellowship of Thy Holy Spirit, &c.'⁶

This is the tradition of the sixth century; and from thence onward it dominates all the liturgical thought and practice (orthodox and other) of the Eastern world, and has its reflection over the greater part of the West. But there it was not possible to maintain the same stability and permanence.

¹ Οὐκοῦν καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας ἐκείνης τῆς ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς· οὐ γὰρ διὰ προκειμένων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῶν ᾧδῶν ἐκείνων τὸ Πνεῦμα πάντοθεν κάτεισιν. (*Hom. 3 in Ephes.* c. 5, P.G. lxii. 29.)

² *Όταν δὲ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον καλῇ, καὶ τὴν φρικωδεστάτην ἐπιτέλῃ θυσίαν. (*De sacerdot.* vi. 4, P.G. xlviii. 681.)

³ See *L.E.W.* 480, note 23.

⁴ See P. de Meester, O.S.B., *Les Origines et les développements du texte grec de la liturgie de S. Jean Chrysostome*, in *Χρυσόστομικά* (= *Studies for the 15th centenary*), Rome, 1908, p. 205.

⁵ *L.E.W.* 329, from manuscripts of the ninth century.

⁶ The alternative in the Liturgy of St. Basil is:

'We pray . . . that the All-holy Spirit may come upon us and upon the gifts set before Thee, and bless them and sanctify them, and show this bread to be the true precious Body . . . and this Cup the true precious Blood . . . and unite all of us who partake, &c.' (*L.E.W.* 330.)

This does not imply that the orthodox view was to set up 'the Invocation' as an incompatible rival to the 'Dominical Words'. It is more true to say that it comprehends both. An individual writer may prefer to stress one or other; or may emphasize one in one connexion and the other in a different one. But the tendency grew to lay the major stress on the 'Invocation'. St. Chrysostom, like others, can be quoted on either side: but the strong assertion of the potency of the Dominical Words continues even when the 'Invocation' has come into general favour.¹ So the Eastern view continued to be comprehensive, till political and social and ecclesiastical rivalry threw this topic into the collection of apples of discord, which formed and embittered the relation of East and West.

To sum up this period two things may be cited. The first concerning the doctrine and the second concerning the history.

St. John of Damascus, summing up the wisdom of the East, stated the matter thus when arguing for the reality of the eucharistic change.

If the word of God was able to create, and God the Word Himself was able to become man, 'cannot He make bread to be His own Body and the wine and water to be Blood? . . . God said: 'This is My Body' and 'This is My Blood': and 'Do this for a memorial of Me'. And by His almighty command, until He come, it is so. For thus He spake—'until He come'. And there comes a rain upon this new crop through the Invocation—the overshadowing power of the Holy Spirit. For as whatever God made, He made by the energy of the Holy Spirit, so now also it is the energy of the Holy Spirit which performs the things which are supernatural.²

¹ As late as 512 Severus, patriarch of Antioch, is found stressing the person of Christ and the words pronounced, and entirely ignoring the Invocation. But, like Chrysostom above, he is arguing a different point, namely, that it is Christ, not the celebrant, who is the real offerer and consecrator. (Severus of Antioch, *Select Letters*, iii, no. 3 (ed. Brooks, ii. 238).)

² Εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα· καὶ Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμα· καὶ Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν· καὶ τῷ παντιδυνάμει αὐτοῦ προστάγματι ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ γίνεται· οὕτω γὰρ εἶπεν Ἐως ἂν ἔλθῃ. Καὶ γίνεται ὑπὲρ τῆς κακῆς ταύτης γεωργίας διὰ

An interesting brief summary of the Eastern view of this liturgical history is to be found in the tract attributed to Proclus († 446), Patriarch of Constantinople, *Concerning the Tradition of the Divine Liturgy*. He recalls Clement of Rome, James the Bishop of Jerusalem, and Basil's policy of abbreviation as marking out stages in the tradition. Then he turns back to apostolic times and the growth then of the Sunday's Eucharist according to Christ's words, citing Lu. xxii. 19, 1 Cor. xi. 24, and also Jo. vi. 57. He next speaks of the Apostles awaiting the coming of the Holy Spirit to consecrate.¹ Reverting then to St. Basil's abbreviation, he passes on to 'our Father John' Chrysostom and the further shortening which he effected: and so the tract ends. Other Byzantine writers dwell similarly on the tradition and the same great leaders.²

τῆς ἐπικλήσεως, ἣ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐπισκιάζουσα δύναμις. Ὡςπερ γὰρ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐνεργείᾳ ἐποίησεν, οὕτω καὶ νῦν ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐνέργεια τὰ ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἐργάζεται. (*De Fide Orthodoxa*, iv. 13.)

The whole section is noteworthy. See it in Stone, i. 145-7. It represents the summing up of the traditional and Eastern teaching before the quarrel between East and West spread out to include this topic.

¹ Τὴν ἐπιφοίτησιν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος προσεδόκουν, ὅπως τῇ αὐτοῦ θείᾳ παρουσίᾳ τὸν προκείμενον εἰς ἱερουργίαν ἄρτον, καὶ οἶνον ὕδατι μεμιγμένον, αὐτὸ ἐκείνο τὸ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀποφύγη τε καὶ ἀναδείξῃ. (*P.G.* lxxv. 849-52.)

² The Appendix O in *L.E.W.* deals with 'the Byzantine Liturgy before the Seventh Century' and gathers what information may be gained from the writers of the fifth and sixth centuries.

XII

THE RITES OF THE NON-ROMAN WEST. I

I. *Spain and Gaul.*

THE unanimity of outlook and service which had been reached for the most part by the end of the fourth century is far more clear in what we are accustomed to call the 'East' than in the 'West'. The division is a very real one: and we have already seen (p. 39) signs that it had begun in matters of liturgy, at an early date, as a distinction between Greek and Latin thought, and, perhaps, even more, of language. But it needs some care and caution nowadays to guard against an exaggeration of this cleavage in regard to the era which we are considering now; and it will need yet more later on in the Middle Ages during the time preceding the Crusades.

In the fourth century the Empire was divided, but the Church was not. Travellers and pilgrims moved about through the Roman Empire with little sense of difference in the rites or discipline. They make no comment, and note no controversy. It is exceptional that 'Silvia' (Etheria) is interested to observe and record the liturgical specialities of Jerusalem: but even her descriptions leave the Liturgy mainly out of account.¹ She finds apparently nothing novel or surprising to be noted in that. Evidently the two divergent views are growing; but they cause no rift as yet.

Other travellers, such as St. Jerome and his group, Rufinus, and others, who journeyed far, are equally silent on that topic, evidently not regarding any differences of liturgical usage which they encountered as being of sufficient interest or importance to mention. It is the same with those who came westwards, e.g. with St. Athanasius in his years of exile. In the course of them he spent, first over two years at Trier; and then later, seven and

¹ See Silvia's accounts (*alias* Egeria) in Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (E.T. 541-4), or, better, the S.P.C.K. edition *The Pilgrimage of Etheria*, ed. McClure and Feltoe.

a half in the West; three years of them were spent at Rome, besides other periods at Milan, Trier, and Aquileia. He was certainly familiar, therefore, with the liturgy as it was being celebrated in the chief cities of the Western Empire and the leading centres of Western Christendom. But greater matters than liturgical divergences of outlook were occupying men's minds. While Arianism was vigorous and was being successfully pushed, liturgical developments could go on unheeded: and apparently they did. Liturgical controversy had not arisen.

It is time now, therefore, after having watched the Eastern Churches coming to a common mind on the Christian Sacrifice and the rites thereof, to turn back to the West. It would be natural to start from Rome; but the obscurities surrounding that centre are specially many. There is a tract of history lying between the Hippolytean tract, in the first quarter of the third century, and the remarks of Pope Gelasius, at the end of the fifth, which is very perplexing. Such questions as these arise: As to the beginning of this period—What is the value of this Greek Anaphora inserted in the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus? Is its position there original, or is the whole Anaphora an addition to the tract? If it comes from Hippolytus, what importance or authority had it in the Roman Church of Pope Callistus or Pontian? Does it represent the official liturgy of the Roman Church? Or is it a rival? In any case it is evidence of first-class importance. How far is the text secure, and especially the clauses 47, 49 (p. 51), as to the sending of the Holy Spirit? Was the Anaphora always trinitarian in character and scheme, or not? And if these clauses are subsequent additions, what is their history? Again, when did the use of Greek for the Anaphora give way at Rome to a Latin Rite of any kind? Probably the Greek and Latin languages went on for a good time side by side, just as in some bits of the services the custom was still kept up till a much later date. Officially the civil government was bilingual meanwhile, whether its seat was in Rome or elsewhere. All these are questions preliminary to the consideration of the Canon of the Roman Mass, its source, date, composition, and modifications.

As the *terminus ad quem* stands the question of the testimony of Pope Gelasius (492-6), who seems to imply that in his day the Canon contained some sort of invocation of the Holy Spirit.

The Latin-speaking Churches were developing, and formed a ring round Rome meanwhile. It will be prudent therefore, to start further inquiry into the Latin Rites elsewhere than in Rome.¹

It will be best to begin with Spain. Politically it is the most Roman of colonies. It had a fine tradition of Latin literature dating from the time of Seneca onward, and thus covering the whole Christian period. Its conversion to Christianity was evidently very quiet, and the story of it remains quite obscure. The Church soon was well organized. It comes into view suddenly through the assembling at Elvira (Illiberis), in 303 or thereabouts, of one of the earliest councils of which we have knowledge. It gathered some forty bishops, besides representative presbyters; and the president was Hosius of Cordova, who was afterwards chosen to preside at the great Council of Nicaea.

The Spanish Church suffers, as aristocratic families are apt to do, from the fact that the earliest evidence available for their history comes from records of crime. There is a quarrel in which St. Cyprian intervened² (c. 250), and in the reforming council held on the spot at Elvira the misdoings that were current in the Church were duly exposed. But this must not count to the discredit of the local Church: rather it is evidence of growth, vigour, and importance.³

It is not possible to say what was the Liturgy used in Spain in the earliest Christian days, any more than to tell how the Peninsula obtained its Christianity: the claim of Pope Innocent⁴ that it came from Rome is to be regarded more as a diplomatic than as an historical statement, unless it is merely taken to mean that the traffic from Rome to Spain brought about the infiltration of

¹ For the best critical edition of the Roman Canon (which must serve as the standard of comparison in considering other Western rites) see Dom Botte's convenient text, *Le Canon de la Messe Romaine* (72 pp.; Mont César, by Louvain, 1935).

² Epist. lxxvii.

³ Harnack, *Mission*, iii, § 19 (E.T. 297), describes the early position.

⁴ Epistle xxv to Decentius of Gubbio of 416. *P.L.* xx. 551.

Christian truth. This, indeed, is highly probable. It was much the case of Rome itself.¹ Also in Africa, probably, the same was initially the case. The days of organized missions had hardly come. Even if it be clear that St. Paul visited Spain, there is no direct permanent result known of his sojourn there, such as ultimately there is in Rome. Indeed, nothing is heard of the progress or organization till the middle of the third century.

For this, as for other Latin-speaking areas, there must have been soon available some Latin version of the early standard eucharistic scheme: and if such a version was first formed (as is probable) in Africa, it is probable that Spain had it from thence.

In any case, no divergence from the rest of the world in liturgy is noted, though in the days following upon Hosius Spain was in specially close touch with Gaul, Africa, and northern Italy. The contact was much less with Rome; but close, presumably, with the East through Hosius.

The correspondence of Himerius, bishop of the leading city of Tarragona at the end of the fourth century, with Rome is the earliest known piece of direct touch. The bishop put fifteen questions to Pope Damasus, who was probably himself a Spaniard; and in 385 his successor Siricius replied in what is often reckoned to be the first of the papal decretals.² But no question concerning Liturgy was included. Then there is a pause, as the great Gothic immigration pursued its long course, first along the Danube and then across the Rhine, the Rhone, and finally the Pyrenees.

Meanwhile the Goths came under a very varied succession of influences. After their first onset in the middle of the third century a period of quiet brought them Christian teaching from some Cappadocian prisoners. Next the conversion of the Visigoths as a nation followed, dating from the days of their great Bishop Ulfila, consecrated in 341, and active among his people for forty years after. The middle of the century saw them pushing on into southern Gaul, and even into Spain. North of the Pyrenees their rule centred round Toulouse; but the southern

¹ St. Paul, Epist. to Rom., cc. i. xv. xvi.

² *P.L.* xiii. 1151.

trend became stronger in the fifth century, and as the Vandals continued their restless march through Spain into Africa, the Goths took up their Spanish position, centring round Toledo. Here grew the great Visigothic kingdom, isolated but highly centralized.

The Goths had long been Arians, but the adherence of King Recared in 587 brought his people into the Catholic fold, and united in religion the new-comers with the old inhabitants of the land.

It is to this era that the definite settlement of the medieval Spanish rite must be ascribed. Its literary history goes back earlier, but little is traceable. St. Martin's death at the end of the fourth century was followed soon by his addition to the Mass-book as his service shows.¹ Between that and the latest recognizable addition to the *Sanctorale*, that of St. Pelagius,² martyred in 925, there was hardly any addition. The *Sanctorale* remained almost entirely concerned with the martyrs of the early persecutions. When the great Visigothic bishops, SS. Leander, Isidore, Hildefonsus, &c., took the matter in hand, they had a definite rite which had come to them from earlier days; and their task was that of being organizers, not originators. But it was a time of great literary development and enrichment of the old rite.

The vigour of the Church life had been clearly shown by the great series of the National Councils of Toledo, extending for some three hundred years through the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries. Meanwhile intercourse with Rome had been restored. Early in the sixth century Pope Hormisdas (514-23) had been in official correspondence with Spain,³ but liturgical matters did not come up, and there is still no word of any reprehensible liturgical divergence. Meanwhile the Mozarabic Rite was steadily settling in,⁴ and becoming the characteristic form of liturgy for the Visigothic realm.

¹ See Tol. Sacr. 1002 or Miss. Moz. P.L. lxxxix. 902. ² Tol. Sacr. 1253.

³ Thiel, *Epist. Rom. Pont.* i, Epp. 25, 26, 142, 143.

⁴ The chief documents of the Mozarabic form of Anaphora are the *Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum* of the ninth century, probably from Toledo, (called Tol. Sacr.), and the *Liber Ordinum* of mid-tenth, both published by

Shortly afterwards, however, we have some important and disturbing Spanish news about Liturgy, though not from the Visigothic kingdom. In 538 Pope Vigilius wrote to Bishop Profuturus of Braga (in Portugal) a reply to various inquiries received from him. This was designed to set out for him the apostolic Roman customs. The topics were various, and included an account of the eucharistic order, accompanied by a copy of the Canon of the Latin Mass.¹ Rome, it is said, does not vary the series of prayers, but uses a fixed form always, whatever be the season or festival. It distinguishes them by adding various clauses or phrases, suitable for the occasion, to the fixed form. The Pope wisely appended the text of the Canon; and in order to show where the additions were made he sent the Easter service as a specimen.² The closing section of the letter (§ vii) by its claims shows that this is meant to be not merely advice, or information, but direction. As Profuturus was not Visigothic, and his see, Braga, was in remote Galicia, this hardly counts for Visigothic Spain; but it is of first class importance because it marks the contrast between the Roman and the Spanish rite.

In 587, with the conversion to Catholicism of King Recared (572-601) begins the great era of the Visigothic Spanish Church, a century and a half of close alliance between Church and State, Dom Ferotin. With these must be reckoned the missal (*Miss. Moz.*) issued by Cardinal Ximenes in 1500 and included in *P.L.* lxxxv. (See W. C. Bishop, *Mozarabic and Ambrosian Rites*, Alcuin Tract xv.)

¹ *P.L.* lxix. 15. The results of this, which were considerable, can be traced out in the two councils of Braga (599 and 610), which brought this remote province into touch and unified its position. See Bruns, *Canones Conc.* ii. 29-59. But the influence of Toledo extended widely over the Churches of Spain and Gaul (see, e.g., canon 14 of the fourth council of 633), and ultimately over all Spain.

² *Ordinem quoque precum in celebritate missarum nullo nos tempore, nulla festivitate, significamus habere diversum; sed semper eodem tenore oblata deo munera consecrare. Quotiens vero paschalis (&c.) sanctorumque dei fuerit agenda festivitas, singula capita diebus apta subiungimus, quibus commemorationem sanctae solemnitatis, aut eorum facimus quorum natalitia celebramus. Caetera vero ordine consueto prosequimur.*

Quapropter et ipsius canonicae precis textum direximus subteradiectum, quem, deo propitio, ex apostolica traditione suscepimus. Et ut caritas tua cognoscat quibus locis aliqua festivitatis apta connectes, paschalis diei preces similiter adiecimus. (Vigilius ad Eutherium (*Profuturum*), § v, *P.L.* lxix. 18.)

of great Church leaders, and of organized Church life. Before the end of the century it appears that while Leander, Archbishop of Seville († 600), elder brother and predecessor of St. Isidore, was consulting St. Gregory in Rome on the question of triple immersion in baptism, the two brothers were ardently promoting the Spanish eucharistic rite from Seville as centre (579-637); and their enthusiasm was carried on from Toledo by Hildefon-sus and Julian (657-90). Then came the Moslem invasion (711) and three centuries of decadence: so ultimately the second half of the eleventh century saw the end of the Spanish Rite and the adoption of the Roman books.

Before the time of this group of leaders, in spite of the antiquity and good order of the Spanish Churches, there is no evidence of their liturgical literature beyond what emerges from the scrutiny of the oldest surviving books. In the earlier stages there was probably some influence exercised by Africa. At a later date the closer Spanish connexions were with the north rather than with the south; and at these stages in liturgy, as in other things, it was with France rather than the devastated Africa that Spain went hand in hand: and France at first was leading. But in the third quarter of the sixth century Spain seems to have sprung to the front; and in the Visigothic era there is the learned and prolific St. Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636), ready to enlighten us out of his encyclopaedic knowledge, and give exactly the information which are are seeking about the Spanish Anaphora.

In his book *De ecclesiasticis Officiis* he gives the account of a very orderly structure and a richly decorated liturgy to which the Spanish or Visigothic Church has attained. It is easy, therefore, for him to put very plainly the nature and structure of the Liturgy by recounting the set of seven basic prayers, on which the Spanish (Mozarabic) Rite rested since the time, he says, of its settlement by St. Peter. They are the following:¹

¹ 'Ordo autem missae et orationum, quibus oblata deo sacrificia consecrantur, primum a S. Petro est institutus; cuius celebrationem uno eodemque modo universus peragit orbis.

'Prima earumdem oratio admonitionis est erga populum, ut excitentur ad exorandum deum.

1. An admonition to the people stimulating them to prayer.
2. Invocation to God for his acceptance of the prayers and oblations of the faithful.
3. Begging mercy through the sacrifice for the offerers, or for the departed.
4. For love, as exhibited by the kiss of peace, that all being united in mutual love, may be worthily knit together by the Sacrament.
5. Then comes in the 'illatio' in sanctification of the offering, wherein heaven and earth are called to the praise of God, and 'Hosanna in Excelsis' is sung.
6. Then there follows the 'conformation' of the sacrament, that the offering which is offered to God, being sanctified by the Holy Spirit, may be conformed to the Body and Blood of Christ.
7. The Lord's Prayer, with a comment on each clause.

'These are the Seven Prayers of the sacrifice commended by the teaching of the Gospel and of the Apostles. They are seven to represent either the sum of the holy Church; or the seven-fold grace of the Spirit, by whose gift the things brought are sanctified.'

The result is a form like an Eastern Anaphora, but with room left for variants constantly to be fitted into the framework at fixed points.

'Secunda invocationis ad deum est, ut clementer suscipiat preces fidelium oblationesque eorum.

'Tertia autem effunditur pro offerentibus, sive pro defunctis fidelibus, ut per idem sacrificium veniam consequantur.

'Quarta post haec infertur pro osculo pacis, &c.

'Quinta deinde infertur illatio in sanctificatione oblationis, in qua etiam et ad dei laudem terrestrium creaturarum virtutumque caelestium universitas provocatur et 'Hosanna in excelsis' cantatur, quod salvatore de genere David nascente, salus mundo usque ad excelsa pervenerit.

'Porro sexta exhinc succedit "conformatio" sacramenti, ut oblatio quae deo offertur, sanctificata per Spiritum Sanctum Christi corpori ac sanguini conformetur.

'Harum ultima est oratio . . . 'Pater noster', &c.

'Hae sunt autem septem sacrificii orationes, commendatae evangelica apostolicaque doctrina, &c.' (*De eccl. Officiis*, I. xv, P.L. lxxxiii. 752.)

Spain thus gives the lead required with a clear and definite instruction. This sevenfold formulation is characteristic of St. Isidore and his school. Sharply contrasted with it, and surely late and spurious, is the letter to Redemptus about some differences from the Eastern Church. The use of leavened bread, not unleavened, and the use of silken, not linen, corporals are those mentioned. Pseudo-Isidore in his reply will not make trouble about such things (so long as the Roman Church considers them tolerable), especially as they are not of the essence or substance of the sacrament.

'The essentials are the words of God spoken by the priest in his sacred ministry, namely "This is my Body", wheaten bread, and wine to which it has been customary to add water.'¹

The Easterns may attack our customs, or those of the Romans, but we will seek out together the armoury of the divine oracle in order to defend them. He then quotes Scripture in defence of the customs in question and concludes thus:—When the mystery of His passion and burial is at the daily Sacrifice performed on the altar, the users of azymes, mixed chalice, and clean holy altar linen, according to Roman usage, for the making of the Holy Sacrifice, cannot be in error.² All this reflects the Xth or XIth century.

The line taken by Pseudo-Isidore seems to be that the Spaniards keep their own rite; but he accepts the view that the recital of the Dominical Words is of the substance of the sacrament—indeed, no one would deny that. But there is no insistence on making an invocation of the Holy Spirit to consecrate. Nor, on the other hand, is there any suspicion that there was any inconsistency in doing so at the sixth of the set of prayers (called *post-secreta*, or *post-Pridie*, or *post mysterium*) which the real Isidore explained

¹ 'De substantia sacramenti sunt verba dei a sacerdote in sacro prolata ministerio, scilicet, "Hoc est corpus meum", panisque frumenti, et vinum cui consuevit aqua adhiberi.' (Isidore, *Epist.* vii, *P.L.* lxxxiii. 905.)

² 'Ergo cuius mysterium passionis et sepulturae, eum quotidie immolando, geritur in altare, a tramite recto deviare non possunt, qui in pane azymo, vino et aqua additis, et mundis sanctisque linteaminibus, secundum consuetudinem Ecclesiae Romanae, corporis et sanguis domini sacrosanctum sacrificium student conficere.' (Ibid. 906, and Arevalo's notes *P.L.* lxxxii. 596 ff.)

as the conforming of the gifts to the Body and Blood of Christ by the Holy Spirit. The Dominical Words are essential, but they do not preclude a further sanctifying by the Holy Spirit.

The work of Isidore in the liturgical sphere was carried on by a series of able prelates who rank as the founders and maintainers of the Mozarabic Rite, especially Hildephonsus¹ of Toledo († 667).² But the part taken by the Spanish Councils was of first importance in systematizing and unifying;³ and they provide a continuous commentary, or evidence of the supervision, consolidation, and extension that was going on.

These developments in Spain cannot be considered apart from those in Gaul. The invasion of the Goths at the beginning of the fifth century affected both. It produced a more or less uniform state of chaos in politics, and Arianism in ecclesiastical life, which for a time flooded the whole of the West, including north Italy, Gaul, and Spain.

It does not appear that the Arianism which the invaders brought with them among their habits from the East affected the organization of Church order in general, nor the worship except in some particulars. There was thus one plan to be expected in the whole of the Gothic area, especially in the vast kingdom which through the fifth century included most of Gaul and Spain, having its main centre first at Toulouse and later at Toledo. In their early years of activity the Goths had been in touch with Constantinople rather than with Rome. They retained some marks of that connexion in the matter of liturgy, and adopted some others.⁴ A century passed, and then the Frankish invasion

¹ The works surviving of Hildephonsus are in *P.L.* xcvi.

² See fuller in Dom Germán Prado, *Historia del Rito Mozarabe y Toledano* (Silos, 1928), pp. 18-26: and compare his attractive *Manual de Liturgia Hispano-Visigótica* (Madrid, 1927), which gives in Latin and Spanish (pp. 61-121) a representative Easter Mass, in full.

³ 'Prado gives a list of 39 Councils between Elvira (c. 300) and Cordova (839); and devotes his third chapter to a careful account of the conciliar action in matters liturgical (*Hist.*, pp. 28-46).

⁴ The outstanding instance is the recital of the Nicene Creed at Mass. Concerning this the third Council of Toledo ordered (589) 'ut propter roborandum gentis nostrae novellam conversionem omnes Hispaniarum et

(c. 507) broke up the Gothic dominion, driving the Goths over the Pyrenees to form their separate Visigothic kingdom there and centralize the Spanish Church. But there is no sign of any contrast in general liturgical scheme arising out of this. The Franks continued what they found, catholicizing it where necessary.

The Spanish Rite is thus seen to be naturally the equivalent of the Frankish Rite.¹ Indeed, the word 'Gallican' was applied equally to both of them, and steps were taken to secure unity of practice.² Whatever minor differences of custom there might be, fundamentally, and especially in regard to the Anaphora, they were at one.

We have turned to Spain for the sake of Isidore's explanation of the variable prayers of the Mass. But for specimens characteristic and illuminating we shall turn to the Frankish service-books, where more easily than in the Mozarabic Masses the essentials of the non-Roman rite are discernible.

The early history of the Mass in Gaul is unknown. Presumably in the Greek-speaking colonies of the south it was first said in Greek and corresponded with whatever form was in use in Asia Minor. These Christian colonies were situated in organized Roman Latin-speaking provinces; so the use of Greek was bound to disappear. But it held its own in a polyglot world down to the end of the second century.

Arles had been the leading city since Caesar's time, and a trading centre of many nations and tongues; and it became an imperial city when Constantine restored it after its destruction (A.D. 260).

Lyons was Latin in origin, but the Church was predominantly Greek-speaking in the time of Irenaeus and the persecution of

Galliae Ecclesiae hanc regulam servant ut omnes sacrificii tempore ante communionem corporis Christi vel sanguinis, iuxta orientalium partium morem unanimiter clara voce sacratissimum fidei recenseant symbolum' (Bruns, i. 212.)

¹ Toledo speaks of 'Hispaniae vel Galliae' (ibid., i. 210, 212, 213, &c.) normally, as the area for which it is legislating.

² Toledo, IVth cap., ii, ix in 597: especially in c. ix: 'propter unitatem pacis in Gallicanis Ecclesiis'; and at cap. ii. 'Unus igitur ordo orandi atque psallendi a nobis per omnem Hispaniam atque Galliam conservetur, &c.' (Bruns, i. 221, 225.) Cp. Toledo, XVIIth c., ii. ibid. 385.

A.D. 177.¹ The contact with Asia is shown by the famous letter sent by the Christians of Vienne and Lyons to the Churches of Asia and Phrygia, narrating the persecution; but in 313 the contact of the Rhône valley is with Rome;² and in the year following Constantine summoned the Council at Arles³ to settle with Donatism, on behalf of the whole West: and it seems to have been predominantly Latin. Of the transition from Greek to Latin for use in services, nothing is known.

At some point there arose in Gaul, as elsewhere in the West, a desire for variety in the liturgy; or, if not a desire, at least a habit of variety, which may have come down as a legacy from the early days when the bishop, subject to his observing the fixed norm, celebrated as he pleased. So the rite could be continually adapted to the season or to the festival, or to the particular occasion. To vary in the lessons read was obvious, and a universal habit; similarly the chants which accompanied the lessons could be planned to change in accordance with them. The litany-form of prayer lent itself readily to variation. But it was otherwise with the formal biddings to prayer, followed by the formal offering of it by the celebrant in fixed formulas. These needed to be multiplied as variety was needed. Writers were available who, with more or less of skill, and in one style or another, supplied the need: and the composition of variants continued as they were required. But a danger threatened this course; as has been noted already (p. 65).

We are able to see the result of this in the surviving Frankish books,⁴ and to note the correspondence of that Mass with St. Isidore's exposition of the Seven Prayers.⁵

¹ Harnack, *Mission and Expansion*, ii. 261.

² See the Synod then, in Hefele-Leclercq, i. 272.

³ Ibid. 275.

⁴ The surviving books are chiefly (1) the Reichenau Masses [R] of Mone (the only book not romanized) (*P.L.* cxxxviii. 863). They are set out better in (N. and F.) Neale and Forbes, *Gallican Liturgies*, pp. 1-30. But see below for the true arrangement (p. 107, note 1). Next in importance are (2) *M.G. Missale Gothicum* (H.B.S.). (3) *Vetus Missale Gallicanum*, Neale and Forbes, 151. (4) *Bobbio Missal* (H.B.S.). The *Missale Francorum* is Gallican, but it exhibits the point when the Roman Canon has superseded the Gallican order.

⁵ The whole of this is quoted against Elipandus and Felix by Beatus and Etherius at the end of the eighth century on their side of the Adoptionist

The first part of the service comprises his (1) Preface, (2) Collect, with Litany and 'Ante nomina',¹ (3) 'Post nomina' or 'post precem', (4) 'Ad pacem'. Then comes the Anaphora itself which comprises (5) 'Contestatio' (called also 'Immolatio' or 'Illatio') following upon the opening dialogue, and leading in to the 'Sanctus'; which in turn is followed by the 'Post-Sanctus' ['*Qui pridie*' &c., not '*In qua nocte*' as in the Spanish Rite], which is the *Mysterium* or *Secreta* = the Recital of the Institution, and not to be placed among the variables. (6) Post-mysterium (called also 'post-Secreta' or 'post-Pridie'). (7) Finally the Lord's Prayer, invariable but accompanied by its variable prefix and suffix; and by the Fraction.

Here ended the Anaphora; but the service was not concluded without (i) a blessing, which either preceded communion, or was deferred to the end; (ii) Post-communion (called also 'post-Eucharistiam' or 'Complecturia')—a threefold group consisting of Preface, (Silent) Prayer, and Collectio (like No. (2) at the beginning); and lastly (iii) 'Consummatio missae'.

The place given to the work of the Holy Spirit has been clearly shown for the Spanish group by St. Isidore above.² The 'Post pridie' prayers as we actually have them in the surviving Spanish Mozarabic books have suffered the danger which besets such an excessive amount of variation as this Western structure of the Mass permitted. To a large extent, and especially in the later Masses, they have omitted, minimized, or transformed the old style of the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, and the explicit Act of Sacrifice—two things of first-class importance. The same is also the case with the surviving Gallican books.

We pass on, therefore, from considering the structure of this variable type of non-Roman Canon, to consider the nature and contents of the sets of variables—six or more in number—

Controversy (i. 73) (*P.L.* xcvi. 939.) They perhaps made in the fifth paragraph, for the good of their case, a little interpolation of 'filio dei domino nostro Jesu Christo' between the words 'Salvatore' and 'de genere' (see p. 101). But their use of the passage shows how authoritative it was held to be.

¹ For this see N. and F. 16, 29.

² A survival of the invocation of the Word is in N. and F. 157.

which, when put together, made up the Action of the Mass, whether Mozarabic or Frankish.

It is important to get this clear view of the non-Roman Latin Mass: it can best be viewed in the seventh century, or earlier in Frankish lands. Then a little 'libellus missarum' or Mass-book [R], hailing from a church in Burgundy, was taken to Reichenau and dismembered, and reused. Its contents were recovered from the palimpsest in 1850 by Mone; and it is now restored and recognized as a neat little collection containing a set of six Masses to which has been added an extra Mass of St. German.¹

This evidence, coming from c. 650, is confirmed by the older parts of the composite Gallican Mass-book called the 'Missale Gothicum' [M.G.] which is perhaps half a century later. It is illustrated also by an Exposition of the Gallican rites, which, if it rightly could be ascribed to St. German of Paris, would date back to the second half of the sixth century (555-76). And even if it is not his, it affords an invaluable description of these rites while they were in living use. It is in the form of two descriptive letters,² from which some view of the Anaphora may be had. The writer seems to be resting his two letters on some existing treatise or treatises, beginning with one of St. German. The date of the MS. is *circa* 840.

The Gallican Anaphora is here once again shown to consist of one long prayer, parts of which are variable and parts invariable, as has been already noted.

It begins with the usual versicles after 'the Peace' and its collect have been said. 'Sursum corda' expressly is cited by the Expositor; but there comes a great gap, as he passes away

¹ For the explanation of the true character and order of these sheets, see R.B. (1911), 377-90. They were printed in disorder.

² See them in P.L. lxxii. 89, &c., or in a more critical brochure (ed. J. Quasten, Münster, 1934). The anonymous writer seems to quote Isidore's *De officiis* (c. 620): but it is possible that there was some older source from which both drew. The letters are not inconsistent with such a view. The *Expositio* is known only from one manuscript of the ninth century formerly at the seminary of Autun (ff. 114-22 of a miscellany): MS. G. 111, now MS. 184 of the Municipal Library. It is headed *Capitula patrum traditionum suscipimus*. See D.A.C.L. vi. i. 1049, &c.

then to explain the Fraction and Commixture, remarking on the way that the Dominical Words attest the real conversion.¹

We must fill up the intervening gap from the other sources.

1. The connexion of the dialogue with the Prayer is usually made by the priest taking up the words 'It is meet and right'.

2. The next Prayer, that called 'Contestatio' or 'Immolatio' or 'Illatio', corresponds with what is now called the Preface: for the Preamble, since the introduction of the 'Sanctus' into the first part of it, has been divided into two sections. The former part, a variable act of homage commemorating creation and the heavenly worship, makes then for itself a climax² out of the fixed 'Sanctus'.

3. The latter part, now become the 'Post-Sanctus' prayer, should deal with the Incarnation and work of the Lord down to the point of the Institution, at greater or less length.

The most usual link is a phrase carried on from the 'Sanctus' to introduce it. 'Holy indeed, blessed indeed is Jesus Christ Thy Son our Lord.' Sometimes there is no more than this in the 'Post-Sanctus' prayer, but it goes on at once to the Recital ('Qui pridie').³ It may be longer and independent of any link;⁴ or it may take its link from the 'Benedictus'⁵ or 'Hosanna'.⁶

4. This⁷ is taken up by the Recital beginning 'Qui pridie quam pateretur' or the like.⁸ This is the prayer called 'Secreta' or 'Mysterium' or sometimes simply 'Prex'. There is no record extant of the exact form which the Gallican took, but it probably differed little if at all from the Ambrosian or Mozarabic forms,¹

¹ 'Verbum dicente domino, carnem eius esse cibum, et sanguinem esse potum.' (*P.L.* lxxii. 94.)

² The links are various that lead up to the catchword 'dicentes', which introduces the 'Sanctus': for example 'Quem celi et terra . . . Cherubim et Seraphim incessabili voce proclamant (N. and F. 3). Cui merito omnes angeli. . . ' (*M.G.* No. 127). 'Per quem maiestatem tuam laudant angeli, &c. (*ibid.* 121). Et ideo cum angelis et archangelis te laudamus, dicentes' (*ibid.* 301).

³ N. and F. 4, and compare *M.G.* No. 4.

⁴ N. and F. 11, 15.

⁵ *M.G.* 163.

⁶ *Ibid.* 42.

⁷ For all this see the masses for the six unallotted Sundays, *ibid.* 482, 493, 504, 515, 526, 537, which probably have best preserved the old scheme.

⁸ The Spanish rite took 'In qua nocte, &c.', though it kept the name 'post pridie' for the prayer.

each of which has features of its own while following generally the biblical accounts.

5. When the Recital or Preamble is thus ended, the main operative and central part begins, taking up what has been said so far, with some such phrases as 'Recalling therefore and fulfilling the precepts'. But in the surviving forms the 'Post-Secreta' is often curt in its commemoration of our Lord's doings after those in the Upper Room; not going beyond His 'passion', and making no mention of His resurrection, ascension, or return. It is often deficient also in making clear the Act of Sacrifice. In fact it hastens on to set side by side with the Recital and the Dominical Words an invocation of the Holy Spirit, that He may bless the sacrifice (or some equivalent phrase) and its reception by the communicants.² Some thought that this was represented by

¹ D.A.C.L. xi. 666. The Mozarabic form of *Mysterium* or *Missa Secreta* is given by Ferotin, *Liber Mozarabicus*, p. xxiv.

² The conception of this prayer is best made clear by a number of similar, but not identical, specimens:

1. *M.G.* 154; cp. *Tol. Sacr.* 854; *Moz. Miss.*, *P.L.* lxxxv. 794. 'Haec igitur praecepta servantes sacrosancta munera nostrae salutis offerimus, obsecrantes ut immittere digneris spiritum tuum sanctum super haec sollemnia; ut fiat nobis legitima eucharistia in tuo filiiue tui nomine et Spiritus Sancti; in transformatione corporis ac sanguinis domini n. Iesu Christi Unigeniti tui, edentibus nobis vitam eternam, regnumque perpetuum conlatura bibituris. Per ipsum dominum.'

2. *M.G.* 57. 'Haec nos, domine, instituta et praecepta retinentes, suppliciter oramus uti hoc sacrificium suscipere et benedicere et sanctificare digneris; ut fiat nobis eucharistia legitima in tuo filiiue tui nomine et Spiritus Sancti in transformatione corporis ac sanguinis d. D. n. I. C. unigeniti tui, per quem omnia creas, creata benedicis, benedicta sanctificas, et sanctificata largiris, deus qui in trinitate perfecta vivis et regnas in saecula saeculorum.'

3. N. and F., pp. 11 and 26 (reunited). '... hoc sacrificium nostrum indulgentissima pietate proseguere. Descendat d. plenitudo maiestatis divinitatis, pietatis, virtutis, benedictionis et gloriae tuae super hunc panem et super hunc calicem: et fiat nobis legitima eucharistia in transformatione corporis et sanguinis domini, ut quicumque et quotienscunque ex hoc pane et ex hoc calice libaverimus, sumamus nobis monumentum fidei, sincer[it]at]em dilectionis, tranquillam spem resurrectionis atque immortalitatis aeternae, in tuo filiiue tui ac Spiritus Sancti nomine, in communione omnium, &c.'

4. N. and F. 4. '... hoc sacrificium tua benedictione benedicas et Sancti Spiritus tui rore perfundas; ut accipientibus universis legitima sit eucharistia, per.'

To these may be added a formula, which may be dated; it is taken from the Mass of St. Leger of Autun, martyred in 678.

5. *M.G.* 431. '... concede ... ut descendat hic benedictio tua super hunc

the descent of an angel to bless the sacrifice, while the celebrant was blessing it with the sign of the cross.¹

6. The Anaphora is completed by the recital by all of the Lord's Prayer, which carries with it varying formulas of introduction and closing. The prayer 'ante orationem dominicam' varies greatly in contents; but it ends with words which form a cue for the 'Pater noster', such as 'We recalling His commands pray and say'. Often there is brought in the note of fear—'At the Lord's command, trembling but obedient, with humble mind we pray and say':² or simply (in epigrammatic Latin) 'Divino magisterio edocti, et divina institutione formati audemus dicere "Pater noster"'.³

The prayer 'post orationem dominicam' follows for the most part a well-defined line, being a short expansion of the last clause of the Lord's Prayer, 'Libera nos'. Let this one specimen serve for all: it corresponds with the introductory prayer just quoted; 'Libera nos, aeterna pietas et vera libertas, neque sinas ab inimico capi qui a te cupiunt possideri, omnipotens (deus); qui vivis.'⁴

In close connexion with the Lord's Prayer were performed the ceremonies already mentioned of Fraction and Commixture,

panem et calicem in transformatione Spiritus tui Sancti; uti haec benedicendo benedicas, sanctificando sanctifices; ut quicumque, &c.'

Note also this combination of a passage which follows the Roman Canon with bits of a Gallican invocation. A comparison with No. 1 above shows what has been cut out after the word 'obsecrantes'. This alteration is very significant of the way in which the rite was being altered.

6. *M.G.* 527. 'Memores gloriosissimi domini passionis, et ab inferis resurrectionis offerimus tibi, d., hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationalem hostiam, incruentam hostiam, hunc panem sanctum et calicem salutarem. Obsecrantes ut infundere digneris Spiritum tuum Sanctum edentibus nobis vitam eternam regnumque perpetuum conlatura potentibus. per.' (Seep. 109.)

¹ So the second letter of the Germanus-Exposition says of Easter day: 'Angelus dei ad secreta super altare, tanquam super monumentum, descendit et ipsam hostiam benedicit' (*P.L.* lxxii. 96). For the crossing see the Vision recounted by Gregory of Tours: 'Ventumque est ut sanctum munus juxta morem catholicum signo crucis superposito benediceretur.' (*Vitae Patrum*, xvi. ii; *P.L.* lxxi. 1075.)

² N. and F. 1, 19.

³ *M.G.* 155, and *Moz. Missal.* 854. Cp. *M.G.* 517.

⁴ *M.G.* 156. Compare the series 485, 496, 507, 518, 529, 540 for the six unallotted Sundays.

and so the Anaphora ended. This Gallican model will prove illuminating soon when we come to consider the formation of the Latin Roman Canon.

There is very little more evidence to be gathered as to the interpretation of the Frankish Mass apart from the exposition ascribed to St. German of Paris (p. 107); but some other points stand out clearly, and we are, happily, told about the intervening chants, and some ceremonies. It concerns us to note that at the Offertory the elements are already called 'Corpus' and 'Sanguis domini', as in the Eastern conception.¹ The consecration is therefore regarded as taking place not at a single moment, but as the consummation of a series of prayers and actions beginning at least not later than the Great Entrance of the Offertory. Two texts are next quoted in exposition of the reality of the transformation: first, Jo. vi. 55 ('My flesh is meat', &c.); and only thereafter Mt. xxvi. 26 (the recital of the Institution). Clearly there is no thought of a moment of consecration, occurring at the Dominical Words, as related in the Recital.²

All this and much more is expounded in connexion with the Offertory. When the Kiss of Peace has been also expounded the writer, with his bare mention of the 'Sursum Corda', passes on, as has been already noted, to explain the Fraction and Commixture, leaving the intervening great prayers unexplained; perhaps from reticence, perhaps because his Exposition mainly concerned a graphic description of the rite and of its ceremonies.

It is equally the case that the Exposition lays no stress on the

¹ 'Corpus vero domini ideo defertur in turribus quia, &c. . . Sanguis vero Christi ideo specialiter offertur in calice quia in tale vasum consecratum fuit mysterium eucharistiae pridie quam pateretur dominus, ipso dicente, "Hic est calix", &c.' Mt. xxvi. 26. (*P.L.* lxxii. 93.)

² Again, a little later on, the 'Verbum' on which confidence is built is the Johannine text and not the text of the Institution. For this is the line taken in expounding the Fraction and a miraculous vision that took place then; 'ut dum sacerdos oblationem confrangeret, videbatur quasi angelus dei membra fulgentis pueri cultro concaedere, et sanguinem eius in calicem excipiendo colligere; ut veracius dicerent verbum, dicente domino carnem eius esse cibum et sanguinem esse potum.' (*Ibid.* 94.)

Invocation of the Holy Spirit; it exhibits no theory about the mode of consecration, but is content to cite the scriptural texts as guarantees of the fact. Then finally the saying of the Lord's Prayer is noted; and attention is called to the Blessing. This, if given by the bishop, takes the extended triple form of which the service-books give many examples; if said by a priest it is short: 'Pax, fides et caritas et communicatio corporis et sanguinis domini, sit semper vobiscum.' The service ends with the hymn of the Trinity called 'Trecanum'.

While the Visigothic kingdom centred in Spain was consolidating its rule, both civil and ecclesiastical, through the series of National Councils, dealing with both, through the sixth and seventh centuries, a similar process was going on in the Frankish sphere. There, too, the councils were functioning in close alliance with the monarch, and dealing with ecclesiastical and civil affairs. What the Council at Agde did under the guidance of Caesarius of Arles in 506 for the six provinces which were under Alaric's rule, Orleans did at the bidding of Clovis in 511 through the Frankish and Visigothic bishops. It inaugurated a series of Merovingian Councils, less completely known to us and probably shorter (511-49), but richer in evidence bearing upon liturgical matters,¹ and much more anxious to keep step with Rome and the rest of the world in those matters than the Councils of Toledo show Spain to have been.² The extent to which the policy of ecclesiastical uniformity among the Franks was pressed is exemplified by the order that at least on chief feasts Mass was to begin at 9 o'clock, so as to leave good time for Evensong.³

After this brief consideration of the Frankish Anaphora it

¹ Especially Tours II (567), with the councils following it at Auxerre and Macon; and that at Rouen a century later (650).

² See the Council of Vaison of 529; Canons 3, 4, 5 which defer to the 'sedes apostolica', to 'totas orientales atque Italiae provincias': and adopt the 'Gloria patri' in the form used 'non solum in sede apostolica, sed etiam per totam orientem et totam Africam vel Italiam'. (Bruns, ii. p. 184.) Here we see the influences under which the Frankish Rite developed at this crucial point of its history.

³ Orleans III (538), Canon 14. (Bruns, ii. 196.)

will be well to turn back and review the Mozarabic—the Spanish sister of the Gallican family.

St. Isidore has already expounded what the ideal scheme of the rite comprised. We confront this outline of the sixth century with the books of three centuries later now available.¹ The material is now ample: the Toledo Sacramentary is the best example. It still contains only 130 masses. A conservative spirit has kept this scheme of contents mainly unaltered, and the provision is itself old-fashioned. The *Temporale* (Advent to Pentecost) has some 60 masses only; while for the other half of the year there are only 7 which recur as needed.² The *Sanctorale* has 50–60; and there is a small, and probably later, *Commune Sanctorum* of 9. In strong contrast with this conservatism is the spirit of expansion and alteration which has prevailed with regard to the individual components.³ There are indeed a few points where brevity and simplicity have been allowed to survive; but over the most part of the rite Spanish eloquence has been let loose.

Further, the contents lie in layers and the remodelling has taken time: the models have altered: side by side with the Spanish eloquence there are borrowings from the terse Leonine style of the Roman collects, as well as some that hail from Gaul. It would seem that in many cases an older terse text has survived, being prefaced or interpolated by new material largely homiletic in content. It is tempting to make the division in some cases to separate the nucleus from the expansion: but the operation would be a very delicate one for which circumstances are not yet ripe.

As it is, we may gain most by some comparison between St. Isidore's exposition and the existing Mozarabic sacramentaries. If, therefore, St. Isidore's tidy scheme is confronted with Tol. Sacr., the Sacramentary of three centuries later, there is much divergence observable.

¹ *D.A.C.L.* xii. 401 ff.

² Similarly *M.G.* has 6, and Ambrosian has 7, groups which recur.

³ Compare the attempt to refurbish the Prayer Book in 1689 in order to suit the rhetorical taste of the day.

What especially concerns the Anaphora is to be sought in the three series of collects—the Illatio, the Post-Sanctus, and the Post-Pridie: and the last especially claims attention. St. Isidore stipulated for three points, (a) the offering of the oblation, (b) the hallowing by the Holy Spirit, (c) the 'conformation' of the elements. What do we find?

(a) The offering is clearly expressed in most cases and the prayer asks God to sanctify, or bless, it. Occasionally some other word is used of the divine action—'respicere', 'attendere', 'assumere', 'illabi', or the like: but ordinarily what follows upon the Recital or Preamble is the prayer *Sanctifica* or *Benedic*.

(b) The mention of the Holy Spirit as the agent for which St. Isidore stipulates is, on the other hand, comparatively rarely explicit. Some 26 cases may be seen in Tol. Sacr. But allowance must be made for cases where the mention has disappeared or been transformed,¹ or some general phrase like 'Descendat benedictio' (627) is used as the equivalent.

(c) The 'conforming', which is St. Isidore's word, is not commonly found in the prayers Post-Pridie.² 'Transfigure' (1128) or 'transform' (854) appears instead: or 'transfuse' (125, cp. a fuller statement in the Sacramentary Appendix 1377), but the change is rarely so tersely or pointedly emphasized: it is rather implied than stated, or it is identified with the prayer 'Sanctifica'. In places it is stated by 'fiatque nobis eucharistia pura atque legitima' (607), or some such cautious phrase (cp. also 854): or 'in Filii tui corpus et sanguinem ditiescat' (617).³

¹ See 387 'Virtus descendens', or 'Maiestas' (1022 *bis*), 452 'Mitte verbum tuum', as instances. At 'iubeas illabi' (709 and 1015) the object of the verb seems to have been omitted. At 700 the whole prayer is addressed to Christ: at 781 the 'illapse' is of the Holy Spirit.

² But note at 315 '... solita benignitate sanctifica: sit conformis in proprietate nominum corporis et sanguinis Jesu C. d. n. placita acceptaque libatio.' 654 'Sanctificet . . . Spiritus S.: sacrificia, et faciat plenissime tui corporis sanguinisque conformia.'

³ A very full formula has survived at 854 for St. Christina: it runs in full thus: 'Haec igitur praecepta servantes sacrosancta munera nostrae salutis offerimus. Obsecrantes ut infundere digneris Sp. t. S. super haec solemnia ut fiat nobis legitima eucharistia in tuo filique tuo nomine et Sp. Sancti benedicta in transformatione corporis d. n. J. C. filii tui, edentibus nobis in vitam eternam regnumque perpetuum [conlocemur].'

It is evident, here and elsewhere, that the Visigothic fathers failed to respect the teaching of St. Isidore, and allowed the eucharistic significance of the several prayers which he had defined to be overlaid or to disappear.

This is clearly seen, not only in the matter of the work of the Holy Spirit but also in regard to Christ. For there is much evidence of the characteristic 'swerve' by which the prayer is diverted from God the Father and addressed to our Lord. In particular He is asked Himself to sanctify some twenty times in Tol. Sacr., especially in Advent and Holy Week when a direct address to the Saviour must have seemed natural. Similarly it is round Pentecost that the larger number of explicit appeals for the Holy Spirit are found.

It was perhaps only natural that when there was some special topic indicated, that event, or saint, should receive special attention, and the inherent eucharistic significance of the prayer should take second place, or even disappear.¹

The collection of seven 'Missae quotidianae' here as elsewhere seems chiefly to have preserved the old traditions. In them, as they have no special topic, there is less amplification, and the formulae often remain short. In these Post-Pridie prayers there is a high proportion of references to the work of the Holy Spirit (1111 and 1128) and only one case of 'swerve' (1146).

The main upshot is that the offering of the sacrifice is central, the consecration or benediction of God is associated with it: but this is all subsequent to the Recital or *Mysterium*.

Additional Note

We have evaded any attempt at a full inquiry into the sources and origin of the Gallican rites, and have only postulated that in the third century every church was following a normal common outline of celebration, adapting it to its own language and thought. The attempt to unveil something more definite as to their origin has continually occupied the learned, and led them to very divergent conclusions. They

¹ A good example is at 489 where the mind, being full of the Raising of Lazarus, swerves to address Christ directly and with a prayer appropriate to that occasion.

have usually argued from individual differences or similarities found in the rites: they have also too frequently assumed that the Latin Roman Canon was to be taken as the standard of comparison. So some have ventured to point to this or that centre, Ephesus, Byzantium, or the East generally, and in the West to Rome, Milan, Lyons, &c., as the centre from which the 'Gallican' was in some degree broadcast. But a process of conscious eclecticism is not the way in which a complex rite arises outside of a well-defined liturgical area. Rather one must suppose that it is the result of divers influences conscious and unconscious, individual preferences, experiments acceptable or unacceptable, and so forth.

Thus an amalgam is formed and the traditional outline-scheme is defined and enriched. Then when the result is standardized a bit, and scrutinized, it is found to resemble Byzantium in one point, Milan in a second, Ireland in a third, and so on.

This process, more than any extensive conscious borrowing, probably accounts for the 'Gallican' group of non-Roman rites so far as it is uniform, and for the divergences within the group, so far as the local uses—Frankish, Ambrosian, Visigothic, &c.—are found to vary.

XIII

THE RITES OF THE NON-ROMAN WEST. II

2. *Africa and North Italy*

IT is difficult to determine what was the structure and position of the rite in Africa after the third century, so far as the Anaphora is concerned. Down to that point it doubtless followed the normal scheme, exemplifying the early eucharistic norm in a Latindress, probably for the first time, and with minor differences; perhaps especially in regard to psalmody or intercessions.

But there is a long interval of darkness between St. Cyprian and St. Austin. At the period when the curtain was lifting in the East, it still veiled Africa in obscurity. A word from Optatus in his book against the Donatist outrages shows a balanced view on the question that now was beginning to separate parties as to the mode of consecration. He speaks of the altar as the place where the people present their vows, the members of Christ are brought, where Almighty God is invoked, and the Holy Spirit is called to descend.¹ Nothing is said of any share of His in the eucharistic conversion; but at least His place in the rite is recognized: and there was some invocation.

Soon a more influential voice—that of St. Austin—was to upset the balance of this statement, or at least was to induce others to do so, in favour of a one-sided theory of consecration, which ignored the Holy Spirit. His conversion had come about under the tutorship of St. Ambrose: and all the tender memories of those early days which St. Austin recorded arose from the Milanese services of that time, which were not of the Roman type. He himself probably had some experience of Roman services in 383 before he moved to Milan. His baptism took place at Easter 387: thereafter he returned to Africa after a year's stay in Rome. In 388 he was ordained priest, in 395 he

¹ 'Altaria dei, in quibus. . . et vota populi et membra Christi portata sunt; quo deus omnipotens invocatus sit; quo postulatus descenderit spiritus sanctus.' (Optatus, *De Schism. Donat.* vi. 1, P.L. xi. 1064.)

became bishop of Hippo, and in 430 he died, as the Vandals were besieging the city. This brief chronology will serve as a frame for his history.

There is little doubt that, so far as the Liturgy was concerned, he experienced little difference between the customs of Milan and of Africa; and we have no comment from him on the liturgical changes that had been going on in Rome. His voluminous writings are full of allusions to the Mass as he knew it in Africa:¹ but they give little precise information; and it is evident that there was no controversy on that subject that called for his intervention or attention—unless it was a difference as to the way of reciting the 'Nomina' or names of the dead who were to be commemorated. The fact that he laid so much stress on so small a point shows that there was no greater controversy existing.

As to the structure,² St. Austin distinguishes after the sermon between (i) 'precationes', the prayers said previous to the blessing of the oblation on the altar; (ii) 'orationes', those said at the blessing and sanctifying and the breaking up for the distribution and followed by the Lord's Prayer; and (iii) 'interpellationes' or 'postulationes' which are said when the people are being blessed with an imposition of hands before communion and the final thanksgiving. For the first two of these terms he claims the almost universal consent of the Church: of the third

¹ The African Rite is well reconstructed by W. C. Bishop in *J.T.S.*, vol. xiii (1912), 250–77, and Dr. W. Rötzer has made an exhaustive study of the Augustinian writings in relation to Liturgy in his *Des Heiligen Augustinus Schriften*, &c. (Munich, 1930).

² Referring to 1 Tim. ii. 1, he writes to Paulinus of Nola in *Epist.* cxlix. cap. 2. 16: 'Eligo in his verbis hoc intellegere quod omnis, vel paene omnis, frequentat ecclesia, ut "precationes" accipiamus dictas quas facimus in celebratione sacramentorum, antequam illud quod est in domini mensa incipiat benedici. "Orationes" cum benedicuntur et ad distribuendum comminuitur; quam totam petitionem fere omnis ecclesia dominica oratione concludit. . . . Ideo in huius sanctificationis praeparatione existimo Apostolum iussisse proprie fieri *προσευχάς*, id est orationes. . . . "Interpellationes" autem, sive, ut vestri codices habent, "postulationes" fiunt cum populus benedicuntur; tunc enim antistites velut advocati susceptos suos per manus impositionem misericordissimae offerunt potestati. Quibus peractis, et participato tanto sacramento "gratiarum actio" cuncta concludit.'

(*C.S.E.L.* 44. 3; *P.L.* xxxiii. 635–7.)

he does not say this; and indeed these forms of blessing before communion were not in general use except in 'Gallican' areas.¹

After the Names came the Offertory. St. Austin records that recently the custom had arisen in Carthage of singing psalms before the 'oblation' and distribution; but one Hilarus, a prominent layman, had objected to the new plan, and raged against the clergy. So St. Austin himself had, by request, written a reply to him. This is apparently not extant.

The Anaphora, we see, began, as usual, with the salutation, 'Sursum cor', &c. The bishop reveals nothing as to the 'precationes' following; he makes no mention of the 'Sanctus' or 'Post-Sanctus'; but his distinction between 'precationes' and 'orationes', may perhaps correspond with that between the Preamble and the substantive Action at the Anamnesis, as shown clearly in the early days (pp. 48, 49).

Speaking in his Eastertide lectures to the young communicants² the bishop skips over from the last of the opening versicles to the Lord's Prayer, said 'after the sanctification of the sacrifice of God is over'. This is followed in Africa by the 'Peace be with you' and the Kiss of Peace.

Lastly came the Blessing 'super populum', already classed as 'postulatio' or 'interpellatio': with Communion (some Communion anthem),³ and a Thanksgiving. At some point there was made the sign of the cross over the sacrifice.⁴

The structure so far as we can discern it seems familiar, but there are no prayers extant with which to exemplify it. It is not even clear whether the Anaphora of St. Austin's day was a series of closely linked prayers of the Gallican type, many of them variable, or was single and continuous like a Greek Anaphora, or was, like the Roman Canon, the result of a fusion of selected prayers into a fixed form. The terminology which has been quoted, and is in the plural number, suggests the Gallican type. But commonly the word 'prex' is used in the singular as well as the plural terms.

¹ *Retract.* ii. 37 (*C.S.E.L.* 36. 2).

² *Serm.* ccxxvii.

³ e.g. 'Accedite' or 'Gustate'. ⁴ *In Joan.* tr. 118. 5, in *P.L.* xxxv. 1950.

Another passage of a controversial nature bears upon this point.

In his controversy with Petilian, the Donatist Bishop of Cirta, he had to reply to the scornful question, 'If any one knows by heart the priest's formula ('carmen'), is he therefore a priest because with sacrilegious mouth he utters the priest's formula?' He discards the suggestion of an incantation, implied in the word 'carmen', and replies, 'If you hear even some profane person using a prayer (*precem*) which is in conformity with the words of the priest and the mysteries of the Gospel (*evangelicis mysteriis*) you cannot say to him "It is not true", even though he himself be not true, and even be no priest'.¹ The 'prex' in question, then, is clearly the historical Recital: and the argument is that the prayer is a true one, and the truth of God stands, even though the man is faulty. Also it seems that here the 'prex' means the 'mysterium', or that part of the Anaphora called 'mysterium', as above, in Gallican usage (p. 106), not any whole and unified Canon, such as was formed later or elsewhere.

Elsewhere 'prex' alternates or combines with 'verbum' in St. Austin's explanations.

In regard to the mode of consecration, the curt epigrammatic teaching given to the children in their instructions² recurs elsewhere in a more developed form³ and more scholastically stated, explaining that the mode of the transformation is through the holy prayers and the word spoken.⁴ But this by no means exhausts the bishop's explanations.

¹ *Contra litt. Petil.* II. xxx. 68, 69, *P.L.* xliii. 281.

² 'Panis ille quem videtis in altari sanctificatus per verbum dei Corpus est Christi.' (*Sermon*, ccxxvii, *P.L.* xxxviii, 1099.)

³ 'Inde iam quae aguntur in precibus sanctis quas audituri estis, ut accedente verbo fiat corpus et sanguis Christi. Nam tolle verbum, panis est et vinum. Adde verbum, et iam aliud est . . . corpus Christi et sanguis Christi. . . . Adde verbum et fiet sacramentum.' (*Sermon*, Denis 6, *P.L.* xlv. 836, or *Misc. Ag.* i. 31.)

⁴ Another exposition of St. Austin's is of a more general kind, and has no reference to the 'Word of God' as consecrating. 'Noster panis et calix non quilibet . . . sed certa consecratione mysticus fit nobis' (*Contra Faustum*, xx. 13, *P.L.* xlii. 379): or again, 'Non enim omnis panis, sed accipiens benedictionem Christi, fit Corpus Christi' (*Sermon*, ccxxxiv. 2, *P.L.* xxxviii. 1116).

In these instructions to young communicants St. Austin simply attaches the Consecration to 'the word of God'. This is an archaic and ambiguous phrase in this connexion, and St. Austin does not make it clear: but it was gradually taken to mean certain words of Christ, and this interpretation became classical. But for St. Austin it is the Divine Word, as originally spoken, and still effective, which (he teaches) is operative: and this teaching is given to reassure the communicant as to the reality of the change. But there is also action as well as word involved in the mystery (for the Eucharist was made by His hands, *confecta manibus suis*¹), presumably by the sign of the cross.

So far there is no mention of the co-operation of the Holy Spirit. Such a one-sided explanation of the mode of consecration was not new: others, as we have seen, both in East and West had led up to it.

But it does not represent the whole of St. Austin's thought, nor did it the whole of theirs. The co-operation of the Holy Spirit is not ignored by him. 'The sacrament is not sanctified but by the invisible operation of the Holy Spirit.' This is what St. Austin has to add when writing about the Holy Spirit in order to present the matter in its fullness and in right balance.

'The fruit of the earth taken and consecrated by a mystical prayer we duly receive for our spiritual health in remembrance of the passion of our Lord on our behalf: this when by human hands it is brought to be that visible kind, yet is not consecrated to become so great a sacrament except by the invisible operation of the Spirit of God.'²

This might be interpreted as merely a general statement, were it not for the clearer contemporary witness of Optatus (see

¹ *Sermon*, lxxi. 11, and *Sermon*, cxii. 4, in *P.L.* xxxviii. 453, 645.

² 'Quod ex fructibus terrae acceptum, et prece mystica consecratum rite sumimus ad salutem spiritualem in memoriam pro nobis dominicae passionis: quod cum per manus hominum ad illam visibilem speciem perducatur, non sanctificatur, ut sit tam magnum sacramentum nisi operante invisibiliter spiritu dei.' (*De Trin.* iii. iv. 10, *P.L.* xlii. 874.) Note here and elsewhere the use of the term *prex*, which alternates with *Verbum*, and interprets it.

p. 117) to the existence of a definite Invocation of the Holy Spirit in the African Rite.

This witness, moreover, is confirmed a century later by Fulgentius, Bishop of Ruspe († 533) and leader of the Christians under Vandal domination, an ardent disciple of St. Austin. His favourite phrase is 'the Advent of the Holy Spirit'. In writing a book of instruction for his friend Monimus, who had asked why only the Holy Spirit was invoked,¹ he explains that this 'mission' is not a sign of inferiority, but is common to the Persons of the Trinity; thus the call for the mission of the Holy Spirit is the natural complement of the work of the Father and the Son. His paraphrase of the word 'mission' is that 'the Advent of the Holy Spirit is demanded for the sanctification of the sacrifice of the whole Church',² and has special reference therefore to the gift of charity, so intimately bound up with the Eucharist.³

It is significant that both in St. Austin and in Fulgentius the reference to the Holy Spirit's work is made in the dogmatic sphere, and is connected with trinitarian doctrine. The insistence on the connexion between the word of God and the consecration is, on the other hand, of a devotional nature. It is mainly, in fact, put forward by St. Austin when he is giving the simplest possible reassurance to the young communicant that God's Word holds good. It is not, then, in its origin a full statement of St. Austin's own belief. Nor was it a full statement of the belief and habit of the African Church, as Fulgentius shows. It was meant to be what would stick in the minds of the children. No doubt it did so: and indeed, taken apart from the rest, it overpassed its original purpose.

¹ 'Cur . . . ad sanctificandum oblationis nostrae munus S. Spiritus tantum missio postuletur.' (*Ad Monimum*, II. vi, P.L. lxx. 184.)

² 'Sancti Spiritus ad sanctificandum totius ecclesiae sacrificium postulatur adventus.' (*Ibid.* II. x. 187. Cp. *Contra Fabian.*, fragm. xxviii, *ibid.* 789.)

³ 'Dum itaque ecclesia Spiritum sanctum sibi caelitus postulat mitti, donum sibi caritatis et unanimatis postulat a deo conferri. Quando enim congruentius quam ad consecrandum sacrificium corporis Christi sancta Ecclesia, quae corpus est Christi, Spiritus Sancti deprecatur adventum?' (*Ibid.* II. x. 188, cp. *ibid.* xi. 190 and at xii. 191, 'Ecclesia in sacrificii prece Spiritus Sancti deprecatur adventum.')

It was 'verbum' rather than 'prex' that stuck, and these repeated curt and epigrammatic statements of St. Austin that were destined to set the fashion throughout the West. It spread, unfortunately, not in that balanced form, nor in the form which was his when he spoke as a teacher of the doctrine of the Trinity, but in the simplified and unilateral form which he gave to the children. He was intending to repeat to them in the simplest form what he himself had heard from St. Ambrose:¹ and the combined utterances of these two Latin Fathers came to form the basis of most of the realist teaching in the Latin world about the Eucharist through the Middle Ages and since.²

The Ambrosian Rite seems to occupy a place intermediate between the Gallican use and the Roman use and thus to be the result of a fusion. In its early days Milan probably accorded with Gaul, for it took a leading part in the affairs alike of the cisalpine and transalpine provinces. In the fourth century it was in close touch with the East as well as the West. This influence was at its height under two bishops—Auxentius (355–74), a Cappadocian in origin and Arian in belief, brought in by Constantius to fill the most important see of north Italy,³ and St. Ambrose his successor (374–97). To the ecclesiastical influence which accrued there was added political influence, when in the early fifth century Milan began to be the centre of imperial government. This temporary pre-eminence of Milan coincided with the period of the great Christian expansion in Gaul, with which it was closely connected. So a large area of converts looked to Milan at least as often as to Rome for its guidance. The chief cities of north Italy, such as Aquileia⁴ and

¹ See below, p. 125, and notes.

² This tradition was transmitted quite as much by Church law as by theology. See, for example, Gratian, *Corpus, De conscr.* 11, cc. 40, 43, 55, 60, 61, 69, 72, 74—not all of them authentic citations. Cp. Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum*, pars 2, cap. 4 (*P.L.* clxi. 139).

³ Most of his predecessors had been Greeks.

⁴ Note the important synod held there in 381. *H-L.* ii. 50.

Ravenna itself, were continually facing eastward for governmental purposes: and also, at this period, looking thither for ecclesiastical inspiration and guidance.

In the matter of liturgy it is not possible to say how much the Eastern type of Anaphora was favoured by Auxentius, Arian as he was: nor what line St. Ambrose took on succeeding him. Neither here nor elsewhere is there record of the effect on the rite of the change-over to Catholicism. The widespread move as the Arian barbarians gradually conformed to the decisions of Nicaea and Constantinople left behind no trace of liturgical controversy. One might conjecture that Arians would have been slow to level up to the full trinitarian scheme of Anaphora, or to establish in it a specific place for recognizing the consecrating grace of the Holy Spirit. But neither in Spain nor Gaul does this appear. At Milan, where we might hope for record of the change, there is none. Indeed, it is not known how much there was originally that was characteristic of the Gallican Rite; or how much those features that are characteristic in the later Ambrosian Rite were legacies from earlier days or were definite imports from the East, perhaps under the influence of Auxentius. On the other hand, it is fairly clear that, after the Lombard invasion, when the Milanese see was practically in exile at Genoa for seventy years (570-641), a very strong influence from Rome tended to draw away the Milanese services from any Gallican connexion to the Roman model.

For the situation at the end of the fourth century we have the bishop's own voluminous writings to enlighten us. But they do not suggest that the bishop was interested in liturgy.

The account that St. Ambrose himself gives of Eucharistic consecration is short. It may be summarized thus: If a man's blessing can change things, how much more 'the divine consecration in which the very words of the Lord and Saviour take effect. The sacrament received is made by the discourse (*sermo*) of Christ.' The analogy of the Incarnation is then cited, and he returns to the Eucharist. 'It is the Lord Jesus who cries "This is My body"; and what before the blessing of the heavenly words

is called one kind is after consecration signified as Body. Jesus speaks of His Blood; before consecration it is called something else, but after consecration it is designated Blood. And you say *Amen*, that is, *It is true*.¹

The remaining five short sections of this book of instructions describe the privileges of communion with Christ, largely in language drawn from the Song of Songs. At the end of the work St. Ambrose brings in the Holy Spirit thus: 'The body of God is a spiritual body: the body of Christ is the body of the Divine Spirit.'² But when he ends with the thought of the Descent of the Holy Spirit, he refers it to the Incarnation and to the Font; and markedly not to the Eucharist.

It may be conjectured, then, that St. Ambrose's Anaphora, if it included any reference to the part of the Holy Spirit in the Eucharist, had not a separate consecratory invocation: and that he pointed elsewhere, to the heavenly Words, as the warrant for the eucharistic change. But this is not wholly so: for with this must be taken into account what he says of it in his treatise on the Holy Spirit,³ that 'He with the Father and

¹ His instructions form the book *De mysteriis*. 'Quodsi tantum valuit humana benedictio ut naturam converteret (2 Kings vi. 5, 6), quid dicimus de ipsa consecratione divina, ubi verba ipsa domini Salvatoris operantur? Nam sacramentum istud quod accipis Christi sermone conficitur. . . . 'Ipse clamat dominus Jesu, "Hoc est corpus meum". Ante benedictionem verborum caelestium alia species nominatur; post consecrationem corpus significatur. Ipse dicit sanguinem suum. Ante consecrationem aliud dicitur; post consecrationem sanguis nuncupatur. Et tu dicis "Amen" hoc est "Verum est." (§ 52, 54, *P.L.* xvi. 424.)

Similarly in § 53 the Incarnated body had been shown to be contrary to nature, and so brought into line with the sacramental. 'Et hoc quod conficimus corpus ex virgine est. . . . Vera utique caro Christi quae crucifixa est, quae sepulta est; vere ergo carnis illius sacramentum est.'

Elsewhere two passing references further express his view: note again the use of *sermo*. 'Panem dedit (Christus) apostolis . . . hodieque dat nobis eum quem ipse quotidie sacerdos consecrat suis verbis.' *De bened. patriarcharum*, ix. (*P.L.* xiv. 719.) 'Etsi nunc Christus non videtur offerre, tamen ipse offertur in terris quando Christi corpus offertur. Immo ipse offerre manifestatur in nobis cuius sermo sanctificat sacrificium quod offertur. *Ennar. in Psalm.* xxxviii. (*P.L.* xiv. 1102.)

² Corpus enim dei corpus est spiritale: corpus Christi corpus est divini spiritus.' (*Ibid.* 426.)

³ 'Quomodo igitur non omnia habet quae dei sunt, Qui cum patre et filio a sacerdotibus in baptismo nominatur, et in oblationibus invocatur, cum

the Son is named by the priests in baptism and invoked in the oblations'. And elsewhere, again, he seems to use the more Gallican language and thought, saying that the 'sacraments by the mystery of the sacred prayer are transfigured into flesh and blood'.¹ In sum, the views which St. Ambrose² expresses are comprehensive, not exclusive. He did not, like his later followers, confine himself to one aspect of the mysteries. They exaggerated his insistence on *words*; and they narrowed it so as to mean only the words which are in the Recital recorded as those used by Christ in administering. Also they excluded, or gave not the place to, the work of the Holy Spirit in consecration, nor yet to prayer, which Ambrose had maintained.

A little later a contemporary and neighbour, Gaudentius of Brescia (c. 410),³ addressed to his neophytes an instruction which expounds the change as a heavenly thing effected by the personal transition of our Lord. But he balances this statement with the explanation that the effect which is declared to have taken place is wrought by the fire of the Holy Spirit. When he adds an appeal to the Dominical Words, it is not as consecratory but as administrative and declaratory.³ This view is therefore even wider than the outlook of those who referred only to the Holy Spirit and to the Words.

It is useful at this point to seek out widely whatever may help to elucidate this crucial and transitional stage in the development. We then turn back naturally to the Gallican areas to see what is to be found there—whether as a

patre et filio a Seraphim in caelestibus praedicatur, &c.' (*De S. Spiritu*, II. xvi. 112, *P.L.* xvi. 837.)

¹ 'Nos autem quotienscunque sacramenta sumimus, quae per sacrae orationis mysterium in carnem transfigurantur et sanguinem, mortem domini annuntiamus.' (*De Fide*, IV. x. 124, *P.L.* xvi. 667.)

² See the summary given in Dudden's *St. Ambrose*, II. 644-50, which hardly does justice to his width of outlook.

³ 'Ne terrenum putes quod caeleste effectum est per eum qui transiit in illud et fecit illud suum corpus et sanguinem . . . sed ut per ignem divini spiritus id effectum quod annuntiatum est credas. . . . Nam cum panem consecratum et vinum discipulis suis porrigeret, sic ait: *Hoc est corpus meum: hic est sanguis meus.*' (Gaudentius, Tract 2. *C.S.E.L.* lxxviii. 129, *P.L.* xx. 858.)

survival, or as an importation from the Eastern world, liturgists are not agreed.¹

Provence provides some precious evidence of the later part of the fifth and the earlier part of the sixth century. A sermon which belongs to Faustus, Abbot of Lerins (432) and Bishop of Riez (462) or the Gallican Eusebius, expresses the mind of that centre of Christian life and piety.

'The invisible Priest changes the visible creatures into the substance of His Body and Blood by the secret power of His Word, saying *Take eat, this is My Body*: and, repeating the consecration, *Take and drink, this is My Blood*.'²

After summarizing much of the traditional exposition of the Eucharist and citing the parallel of Baptism he argues:

'So when the creatures that are to be blessed by the heavenly words are placed upon the holy altar, before they are consecrated by the invocation of the holy name they are substantially bread and wine, but after Christ's Words they are the Body and Blood of Christ.'³

It is uncertain whether this sermon should not be attributed to St. Caesarius, Bishop of Arles (503-42), rather than the others.⁴ It would not be surprising to find him following the 'Roman' line here as elsewhere: and the first part of his comment expresses the advancing 'Words-view'. The second part, however, is differently balanced, the change being there ascribed to the Invocation of the Holy Name. A Gallican view follows the Roman one. In that area it is not uncommon, when there is no express mention of the Holy Spirit, to find a reversion, or a survival of the Invocation of the Holy Name or the

¹ The story which Abbot Theodore told Moschus of a bishop celebrating in Rome in 535/6 and explaining to Pope Agapetus that he had tried four times to finish the Anaphora but was unable to do so because he did not see, as was his wont, the descent of the Holy Spirit, must probably be classed as a pious pilgrim's tale. (Moschus, *Pratum*, cl, P.G. lxxxvii. 3014.)

² P.L. lxvii. 1053 as belonging to Caesarius.

³ Ibid. 1056. 'Ita quando benedicendae verbis caelestibus creaturae sacris altaribus imponuntur, ante quam invocatione sancti nominis consecrentur substantia illic est panis et vini; post verba autem Christi, corpus et sanguis Christi'. For 'verba caelestia' cp. p. 125.

⁴ Morin (*Opera Caesarii* I. 925) says to Eusebius of Gaul.

Blessed Trinity, such as was customary in earlier days.¹ The phrase could be taken either way, as referring to an invocation or to a recitation of the Dominical Words, or both: so it denotes a stage of transition.

Such was the sixth century in Gaul. St. Caesarius makes a good many references to the Liturgy, but little to the Anaphora. The work of the chief Gallican liturgists lay in the fifth century. Gennadius of Marseilles² then mentions three writers as having written a Sacramentary—Salvian of Marseilles, Voconius, a Mauretanian bishop of Castellenum, and especially Musaeus of Marseilles, who, besides a fine and extensive sacramentary, compiled for his bishop a lectionary from the Bible, with responds from the Psalms and 'capitula'. Others were busy with the introduction of new music,³ keeping watch on Byzantine developments,⁴ &c. Gregory of Tours, Avitus of Vienne, as well as Caesarius, have some information to contribute as to the vigorous liturgical life;⁵ but the sermons of Caesarius are more concerned with the behaviour of the communicants than with the rite. Meanwhile the Roman influence was spreading, quietly as yet and without pressure, and chiefly in response to requests from bishops in the provinces,⁶ and in conjunction with the Vicariate at Arles and the action of local councils.

Shortly an important piece of evidence as to the Roman Canon and its spread comes from Italy itself.

A century or more after St. Ambrose another bishop of north Italy wrote a set of lectures on the same subject and on the same lines, following closely St. Ambrose (or an Ambrosian tradition). It is generally distinguished from the Ambrosian Catechetical Lectures, the *De mysteriis* of 387, by the title *De*

¹ Atchley, p. 144.

² *De script. ecclesiasticis*, P.L. lviii, 1099, 1103.

³ Caesarius, *Serm.* cclxxxiv (P.L. xxxix. 2282, or ed. Morin, *Serm.* lxxv).

⁴ Avitus, Ep. iii, P.L. lix. 210.

⁵ Thibaut, J. B., in his *L'Ancienne Liturgie gallicane* (1929) has collected scattered passages conveniently: but see Cabrol's review of his thesis in *R.H.E.* xxvi (1930), pp. 950-61.

⁶ See the letter of Pope John III in reply to Edald of Vienne (P.L. lxxii. 18), that of Vigilius (p. 90), and others.

sacramentis.¹ It is twice as long. Author and place and date are alike unknown; but it differs too much from St. Ambrose's undoubted writings to be representative simply of Milan. A comparison of the baptismal ceremonies and rites makes this fairly plain, as well as any clear conception of the course of development. To estimate, therefore, the relation of St. Ambrose to his disciple is not easy, though it is illuminating to note in detail some of the points of difference. On disentangling the disciple's liturgical text from the commentary its similarity to the Roman Canon is obvious, and invites comparison of the variants, so far as they go. Many are little more than verbal, and do not therefore belie the writer's expressed wish to follow the type and form of the Roman Church.² Others are significant.

In regard to the eucharistic doctrine it is well to contrast the description of the mode of the change given here with that of St. Ambrose (above, p. 124). 'The bread is bread before the words of the sacraments, when the consecration comes, it becomes the Flesh of Christ.' There is here,³ a greater enlargement and greater insistence on the Words-view, which is not only due to the prolixity of the unknown bishop, but marks

¹ Ibid. xvi. 435-82. For these two treatises in relation to one another and in relation to the controversies that followed them see the excellent edition, an English translation and introduction, by Thompson and Srawley (S.P.C.K. 1919).

² *De Sacr.* III. i. 5: 'cuius typum in omnibus sequimur et formam'. But this profession is made just when the writer claims to differ from it (on the foot-washing at baptism).

³ See *ibid.* IV. IV. 14-16 in *P.L.* xvi. 458-61. First comes discussion.

§ 14. 'Tu forte dicis "Meus panis est usitatus"; sed panis iste panis est ante verba sacramentorum: ubi accesserit consecratio, de pane fit caro Christi. Hoc igitur astruamus. Quomodo potest, qui panis est, corpus esse Christi? Consecratione. Consecratio autem quibus verbis est, cuius sermonibus? Domini Jesu. Nam et reliqua omnia quae dicuntur in superioribus a sacerdote dicuntur: laudes deo deferuntur, oratio petitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro caeteris. Ubi venit ut conficiatur venerabile sacramentum, iam non suis sermonibus utitur sacerdos, sed utitur sermonibus Christi. Ergo sermo Christi hoc conficit sacramentum. § 15. Quis est sermo Christi? Nempe is quo facta sunt omnia—"Iussit dominus, et factum est caelum," &c. . . . [Genesis i.] Vides ergo quam operatorius sit sermo Christi . . . § 16. Ergo tibi ut respondeam, Non erat corpus Christi ante consecrationem, sed post consecrationem dico tibi quia iam corpus est Christi. *Ipse dixit et factum est, ipse mandavit et creatum est.*' (Ps. cxlviii. 5.)

a stage onward towards the schematized medieval view. At the same time there is an individuality of statement and a change of terminology. *Sermo* takes a place by the side of *Verbum* and is interpreted to mean first the Word of Creation, and then the eucharistic words as recited.

Also the greater freedom of speech is noteworthy. The old 'disciplina arcani', which had restrained St. Ambrose from quoting the terms of the 'benedictio' or 'consecratio' of which he spoke,¹ is no longer maintained; the later untraced bishop quotes the latter part of his own 'benedictio';² and it is closely allied to the Roman Canon (see below). Naturally, therefore, it is also closely interwoven with the theory of consecration by the Dominical Words alone, and does not leave any room, not even the little space that St. Ambrose leaves, for any operation there of the Holy Ghost. In regard to the liturgical form, on comparing the two texts of the Canon,³ these points call for attention.

Canon

§ VII. Quam oblationem tu, deus in
omnibus quaesumus benedictam
ascriptam ratam rationabilem
acceptabilemque facere digneris
ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dile-
ctissimi filii tui d. dei nostri Jesu
Christi
VIII. Qui pridie quam pateretur
accepit panem in sanctas ac
venerabiles manus suas
elevatis oculis in caelum ad te
deum patrem suum omnipotentem
tibi gratias agens benedixit fregit
dedit

De Sacramentis

Bk. IV. v. 21-3.

Fac nobis hanc oblationem

ratam ascriptam
acceptabilem rationabilem
quod figura est corporis et sanguinis
domini n.

Jesu Christi

Qui

in sanctis manibus suis accepit
panem

respexit in te
sancte Pater omnipotens eterne deus
gratias

fractumque apostolis suis

¹ *De mysteriis*, ix. 50, 52, 54 (above).

² The full quotation begins at v. § 21: 'Vis scire quia (quibus?) verbis celestibus consecratur? Accipe quae sunt verba. Dicit sacerdos *fac nobis inquit hanc oblationem ascriptam ratam rationabilem acceptabilem, quod figura est corporis et sanguinis domini n. Jesu Christi. Qui pridie quam pateretur . . .* &c. (above, in the text, down to *sanguis meus*). Vide illa omnia. Illa verba evangelistae sunt usque ad *Accipite*—sive corpus sive sanguinem. Inde verba sunt Christi *Accipite et bibite ex hoc omnes; hic est enim sanguis meus*. Et vide singula . . . § 23. *Qui pridie inquit quam pateretur in sanctis manibus suis accepit panem*. Antequam consecratur panis est; ubi autem verba Christi accesserint, corpus est Christi.' (*De Sacr.* iv. v. 21-3: p. 462 and f.)

³ Dotted lines show where the treatise agrees with the Canon.

Canon

discipulis suis dicens
Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes
Hoc est enim corpus meum.

ix. Simili modo posteaquam
caenatum est accipiens
et hunc praeclarum calicem in
sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas
item tibi gratias agens benedixit
dedit discipulis suis
dicens Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes
Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei novi
et eterni testamenti mysterium
fidei qui pro vobis et pro multis
effundetur in remissionem pecca-
torum. Haec quotienscunque fece-
ritis in mei memoriam facietis.

x. Unde et memores sumus d. nos tui
servi, sed et plebs tua sancta
Christi filii t. d. D. n.

tam beatæ passionis, necnon et ab
inferis resurrectionis, sed et in
caelos gloriosae ascensionis,
offerimus praeclaræ maiestati tuæ
de tuis donis ac datis
hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam,
hostiam immaculatam,
panem sanctum vitæ eternæ
et calicem salutis perpetuæ

xi. Supra quæ propitio et sereno
vultu respicere digneris et accepta
habere

sicuti accepta habere dignatus es
munera pueri tui iusti Abel et sacri-
ficium patriarchæ n. Abrahæ et
quod tibi obtulit summus tuus
sacerdos Melchisedech
[sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam
hostiam.]

xii. Supplices te rogamus o.D. iube
haec perferri per manus angeli tui
in sublime altare tuum in conspectu
divinae maiestatis tuæ, ut quot-
quot ex hac altaris participatione, &c.

De Sacramentis

et discipulis suis tradidit, dicens
Accipite et edite
Hoc meum
quod pro multis confringetur.
22. Similiter etiam calicem postquam
caenatum est pridie quam pateretur
accepit respexit in caelum ad te
sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus
gratias
apostolis suis et discipulis suis
tradidit dicens ex hoc . . .
Hic est enim sanguis meus
[Vide illa omnia]

vi. 26. Quotienscunque hoc feceritis
toties commemorationem mei facietis
donec iterum adveniam.

27. Ergo memores

gloriosissimæ eius passionis et ab
. et in
caelum ascensionis
offerimus tibi

hanc immaculatam hostiam, rationa-
bilem hostiam, incruentam hostiam,
hunc panem sanctum
et calicem vitæ eternæ
et petimus et precamur ut hanc
oblationem suscipias

in sublimi altari tuo per manus an-
gelorum tuorum
sicut suscipere dignatus es
.
.
.
. Melchisedech.

At § VII there is an appearance of identity which at the phrase
'quod figura est corporis et sanguinis' does not hold together.

At VIII, it is vocative instead of accusative, and in the familiar
formula '[Domine] sancte Pater omnipotens eterne deus'. 'Quod
pro multis confringetur' is a significant addition to the citation
of Lu. xxii. 19. See Hipp. § 36. (p 51).

At IX, repetition of 'pridie quam pateretur' and the vocative formula, and the heavenward look and considerable minor variation in the surrounding words: also note the added phrase 'donec iterum adveniam'.

At two points the text is not exactly quoted in full: it has 'Vide illa omnia' (serving as an '&c.') after 'sanguis meus'; and then a piece of explanation is interpolated followed by 'Et vide singula' (as cited on p. 130, note 2): and with this § 23 ends.

At x, the Canon adds 'de tuis donis ac datis'.

At XI, XII, while the language remains very similar, in fact a great transposition has taken place. The Canon speaks of the angel's (singular) hands carrying the oblation after it has been accepted, while the other form prays that their (plural) hands may be the means of its acceptance.

Note also that a change has come about in the use of the word *figura* in this connexion. It had been one of the cautious words, applied in the early days, as here in the text, to the Holy Sacrament itself. But now in the commentary (unlike the text) the word is applied to the types—Melchizedek and the Manna.¹

The *De mysteriis* ended with its argument about the reality of the change, and then passed on to Communion. The later bishop devoted a whole chapter of his fifth lecture to an exposition of the Lord's Prayer. In the intervening time between the two bishops the position of it had been altered forward at Rome by St. Gregory († 604).² There is no mention in either of the Fraction, which is involved in this change of position.

This condition of things suggests that these lectures are not earlier than the beginning of the seventh century; but a clear dating is not possible, because the Romanization of the rite of northern Italy, Milan, and its neighbours was gradual.

Similarly the breaking away of the Ambrosian Rite from the non-Roman (Gallican) liturgy, which it forsook under Roman

¹ See IV. iii. 10 and vi. 26; V. i. 1, 3 (pp. 457, 464, 465).

² St. Gregory, *Epist.* ix. 12.

influence, was partial and remains incomplete to this day. The Canon has still its own variants from the Roman Canon: the ordinary structure of the Mass retains features which have gone out of the Roman Rite. Holy Week has retained some notable variants¹ which must have come down from the Gallican collection of variables—for Maundy Thursday a *Communicantes* and *Hanc igitur*, an alternative 'Post-Mysterium', to take the place of *Unde et memores*, beginning 'Haec facimus, haec celebramus, tua domine praecepta servantes', &c.; and a 'Post confractorium' or 'ante orationem dominicam'. 'Ipsius praeceptum . . .', &c.

At Easter Even also there was till the eleventh century a 'Post-sanctus' of the usual Gallican *Vere sanctus* type.² The 'Post-sanctus' of Maundy Thursday is also recoverable; so that a large part of the Gallican prayers composing the Ambrosian Canon for that occasion can be assembled and stand together independently of the Roman Canon.³

Thus the term 'Ambrosian', then, must cover many varieties. First, the saint's own use and views; second, the Milanese Liturgy as it has come down to the present time from its early Gallican origin, through its conformation to Rome. Thirdly, there is available in the *De Sacramentis* this other fusion of Gallican and Roman uses, which came about in north Italy at some unidentified centre and uncertain date. Some evidence on this last point is given by the fact that it does not contain the addition '*sanctum sacrificium et reliqua*', which is attributed to St. Leo (440-61).⁴

These Ambrosian banishments and survivals attest the northward flow of the influence of the Roman Canon: and if there were available evidences of other north Italian centres such as Turin, Ravenna, Aquileia, &c., they would probably show many forms of a Gallican-Roman Canon.

¹ See Ceriani, *Notitia Liturgiae Ambrosianae* (1895), pp. 6-18. *D.A.C.L.* i. 1373-81; 1407-18. Forms of Canon in parallel columns: cp. those in Magistretti, *La Liturgia*, 194-201. See also *Auctarium Solesmense* (1900), 63, 69.

² *D.A.C.L.* i. 1378, 1416.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See below, p. 147.

XIV

THE LITURGY IN ROME

AT last we come back to Rome, whence we started with the Hippolytean Anaphora (*circa* 230) in Greek. Three hundred years later we noted that Pope Vigilius (in 538) was sending a copy of the Roman Canon in Latin to Portugal for use in the province of Galicia, newly organized there and independent at present of the Visigothic church of Spain (p. 99).

What changes had come about in the course of those three centuries; and, in particular, when did Rome adopt Latin and a Latin service instead of Greek, or side by side with it? The history is mainly unknown, and it is only possible to piece together a few scattered bits of evidence, leaving great gaps and uncertainties, many questions and few answers; and much room, therefore, for unfettered conjecture.

The Hippolytean Anaphora (Hipp.) itself, at the outset, is not an entirely secure starting-point. If it be now generally accepted as representing Hippolytus himself, all is well: even, if not, the Anaphora is in any case a priceless piece of evidence. But how far is it representative of the Roman Church, over which Callistus, Urban, Pontian, and their successors in the see were presiding? Why is there little sign of its influence in Rome or its neighbourhood? Its principal signs of influence come from the East; though the existence of the Latin version reveals an interest prevailing in the Latin-speaking world. Yet there is much common to Hipp. and Canon, which appears clearly when they are set side by side: and this must be taken into account as well as the more obvious differences. Here they have been set out parallel, with the paragraphs of Hipp. numbered in arabic, and the sections of the Canon¹ in roman.

In the matter of structure there is the general similarity which is to be expected from conformity to a prevailing fundamental

¹ These follow the useful edition of Dom Botte, *Le Canon de la Messe Romaine* (Louvain, 1935).

type. But the details of structure show a difference which may best be expressed by saying that Hipp. is a straightforward composition; and the Canon a somewhat confused compilation.

In Hipp. the Preamble, Recital, and all indeed up to the Anamnesis (11-43), while addressed directly to the Eternal Father, is a long, though curtly expressed, record, dominated by the Person of Christ. It is set out in a co-ordinated series of relative sentences, of which He is the subject.¹ There is no such unity in the Canon: on the contrary, its ample and unsystematic misuse of the relative pronouns tends continually to divert attention from Him to subordinate matters. The series starts well in § 11, but there is no O.T. commemoration, and the clue is lost at 'cum *quibus*', even before the 'Sanctus' is reached. After it another good start is made in § 111 ('Te igitur'); but the clue is twice lost again in a line or two—at 'sacrificia *quae* tibi offerimus', and again at 'ecclesia . . . *quam* pacificare'. The 'Memento', § 14, shows a new start; the relative pronouns now are made to refer to those who are being prayed for. The same is evident in the 'Communicantes', § 15, and the 'Hanc igitur', § 16. In both cases the 'per Christum dominum nostrum' survives, to show that they are in origin two independent prayers. In § 17 the first words 'Quam oblationem' again are out of the line of the clue; and indeed they betray clearly the clumsy hand of the compiler.

There is no commemoration of the Incarnation or of the Saviour's atoning work. The importation of intercessions (18-21) here has presumably ousted them. Only on reaching § 18, at last the Recital is made, and Canon is brought into line again with this uniform scheme of Hipp. and the relative sentences.

Meanwhile Hipp., from Nos. 11 to 21, has put forth, first the terse set of clauses which express the Incarnation, and then, from 22 to 26, a similar set which express the Passion. The style of these, even in the Latin version, recalls the Roman law court, and resembles that of the evidences minuted there—as we know them from early authentic *Acta* of martyrs; while the contents carry back to works of St. Justin and St. Clement.

¹ Above, p. 48.

Hippolytus

2. Dominus vobiscum
3. Et cum spiritu tuo
4. Susum corda
5. Habemus ad d.
6. Gratias agamus domino
7. Dignum et iustum est
9. Gratias tibi referimus, deus

10. per dilectum puerum tuum Jesum Christum
11. Quem in ultimis temporibus misisti nobis salvatorem
Et redemptorem et angelum voluntatis tuae:
14. Qui est verbum tuum inseparabile
per Quem omnia fecisti, et beneplacitum tibi fuit
17. [Quem] misisti de caelo in matricem virginis
18. Quique, in utero habitus, incarnatus est
20. Et filius tibi ostensus est,
21. ex Spiritu sancto et virgine natus;
22. Qui voluntatem tuam complens
et populum sanctum tibi adquirens

- extendit manus cum pateretur
26. Ut a passione liberaret eos qui in te crediderunt
27. Qui cumque traderetur voluntariae passioni
Ut mortem solvat Et vincula diaboli dirumpat
Et infernum calcet Et iustos illuminet
Et terminum figat Et resurrectionem manifestet,
34. Accipiens panem

gratias tibi agens
dixit
Accipite, manducate, hoc est corpus meum
quod pro vobis confringetur.

Canon

- I. Per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.
Dominus vobiscum,
Et cum spiritu tuo.
Sursum corda
Habemus ad dominum
Gratias agamus domino deo nostro
Dignum et iustum est
- II. Vere dignum et iustum est aequum et salutare nos tibi semper
et ubique gratias agere, DSPOED,
per Christum dominum nostrum
per quem maiestatem tuam laudant angeli . . . socia exulta-
tione concelebrant cum quibus et nostras voces . . .
dicentes SANCTUS . . .
- III. Te igitur . . . petimus ut accepta habeas et benedicas haec
dona . . . in primis quae tibi offerimus pro ecclesia . . .
una cum famulo tuo papa . . .
- IV. Memento domine famulorum . . . qui tibi offerunt hoc sacri-
ficium laudis pro se suisque omnibus . . . deo vivo
et vero.
- V. Communicantes et memoriam venerantes . . . virginis mariae . . .
sed et beatorum apostolorum ac martyrum . . .
quorum meritis precibusque . . . muniamur auxilio. per.
- VI. Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis n., sed et cunctae familiae t.,
q. d. ut placatus . . . accipias, diesque nostros . . . per.
- VII. Quam oblationem tu deus in omnibus benedictam . . .
acceptabilemque facere digneris
ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi filii tui, d.D.n.J.C.
- VIII. Qui pridie quam pateretur

Accipit panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, eleuatis
oculis in caelum ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem
tibi gratias agens

benedixit, fregit dedit discipulis suis dicens

Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes, hoc est enim corpus m.

Hippolytus

39. Similiter
et calicem

dicens
40. Hic est sanguis meus
41. qui pro vobis effunditur
42. Quando hoc facitis, meam commemorationem facitis.
44. Memores igitur

mortis
et resurrectionis eius
45. Offerimus tibi

panem
et calicem
46. Gratias tibi agentes
47. quia nos dignos habuisti
48. astare coram te et tibi ministrare.
49. Et petimus ut mittas Spiritum tuum Sanctum
51. in oblationem sanctae ecclesiae;
52. In unum congregans des omnibus
53. qui percipiunt sanctis
54. in repletionem Spiritus Sancti
55. ad confirmationem fidei in veritate;
56. ut te laudemus et glorificemus
57. per puerum tuum J. C.

Canon

- ix. Simili modo posteaquam caenatum est
Accipiens et hunc praeclarum calicem in sanctas . . . manus
item tibi gratias agens, benedixit, dedit discipulis suis,
dicens
Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes
hic est enim calix sanguinis mei novi et eterni testamenti
mysterium fidei
qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur
in remissionem peccatorum
Hoc quotienscunque feceritis in mei memoriam facietis.
- x. Unde et memores sumus, domine,
nos tui servi, sed et plebs tua sancta,
Christi f. t. d. D. n. tam beatæ passionis,
Necnon ab inferis resurrectionis
Sed et in caelos gloriosæ ascensionis,
Offerimus praeclaræ maiestati tuæ de tuis donis
hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam,
panem sanctum vitæ æternæ,
et calicem salutis perpetuæ,
- xi. Supra quæ propitio et sereno vultu . . . et accepta habere
sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera . . . Abel
et sacrificium . . . Abrahæ et quod . . . Melchizedek,
sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam.
- xii. Supplices te rogamus o.D.
Iube hæc perferri per manus angeli tui
in sublime altare tuum,
in conspectu diuinæ maiestatis tuæ;
ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione
sacrosanctum filii tui c. et s. sumpserimus,
omni benedictione cælesti et gratia repleamur. per.

Hippolytus

58. Per Quem tibi gloria et honor
 59. Patri et Filio cum S. Sancto,
 60. in sancta ecclesia tua,
 61. et nunc et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

The Recital is naturally the place where the two documents will lie closest to one another: but here, too, Hipp. stands alone in having another series of *staccato* clauses (27-33) which express the results of the Passion, before it describes the Action of our Lord in the Upper Room. This, too, is very briefly done, and there are none of the descriptive embellishments which the later Anaphoras allowed to themselves.¹

In § x (the Anamnesis) Hipp. and Canon run parallel, though one is curt and the other is more amply expressed. Then parallelism ceases as Hipp. (46), after the act of offering, turns to thanksgiving; and Canon at § xi 'Supra quae' turns to prayer for acceptance. To this is added § xii, another detached prayer, with its 'per Christum dominum nostrum'. It is the 'Supplices te rogamus', that is to say, another act of heavenly oblation, with a prayer for the communicants.²

At this point Hipp. has its short prayer (49-51) for the sending of the Holy Spirit upon the oblation. In the prayer for the

¹ For a full discussion of this point see F. Hamm, *Einsetzungsberichte* (Münster, 1928).

² The § xii 'Supplices te' and the angel ministry seems to have had a restless career both as regards its position and its connexions. See the differences in Pseudo-Ambrose (p. 132) and the *Expositio missae Romanae* (p. 174).

Canon

xiii. Memento &c.

xiv. Nobis quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis
 de multitudine miserationum t. sperantibus
 partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris
 cum tuis sanctis apost. et mart. . . . cum
 et cum omnibus sanctis tuis;
 intra quorum nos consortium
 non aestimator meriti, sed veniae q. largitor admitte;
 per Christum dominum n.

xv. Per Quem haec omnia d. semper bona creas . . . nobis,
 per ipsum et cum ipso et in ipso
 est tibi Deo Patri Omp. in unitate Spiritus S.
 omnis honor et gloria per omnia saec. saec. Amen

xvi. Praeceptis salutaribus . . . PATER NOSTER

xvii. Libera nos, q. d. ab . . . securi; Per d.n.J.C.f.t.: qui . . . Amen.

communicants (52-5), again, Hipp. has a series of terse clauses. They express the threefold profit due to accrue from Holy Communion. It then ends with a 'per' and a doxology. In Canon § XIII the 'Memento' of the Dead is not only a detached prayer, but a late addition to the Canon. Similarly § XIV, 'Nobis quoque', is a detached prayer: it does not fit on to § XII (which is also a detached prayer), and it has an ending of its own, after a reduplicated commemoration of saints. The conclusion in § XV is parallel with the doxology of Hipp. 57-61.

This rapid survey of the points of contrast and similarity between Hipp. and Canon makes a good starting-point for the investigation of the history of the Anaphora in Rome.

If Hipp. in any degree represented truly the 'Apostolic Tradition' and the Liturgy of Rome, a great change must have taken place to reach the formation and substitution of the Canon. History has retained extremely little evidence bearing upon such a crisis. Also a similar change—that from a Greek to a Latin Anaphora—was coming about; but again there is no direct evidence as to the date or the details.

However, two chance references which have survived give

some clue as to the time. The *Quaestiones Vet. ac N. Test.*, like the commentaries on St. Paul's Epistles attributed to St. Ambrose (Ambrosiaster),¹ are now taken to be the work of a writer of the time of Damasus and Ambrose who was in touch with secular and ecclesiastical affairs, in East and West, at Rome and Milan. Here is to be found a definite quotation from the Latin Canon: the reference is hostile, criticizing the words 'summus sacerdos', in § XI, as applied to Melchizedek.² This implies that, as one would have supposed, some form of the Latin Canon was current at least well before the end of the fourth century.

From the same period also there comes some evidence which seems to imply the use of Greek continuing till the end of the fourth century in the services of Rome. The celebrated African teacher of rhetoric, Victorinus Afer, migrated to Rome, and acquired a leading position there. Late in life (c. 360) he was led by study of the Bible to become a Christian: and he added some Christian works to his previous writings. In his book against Arius, commenting upon the word *οὐσία* (substance), in two places he touches upon the text Tit. ii. 14, and the phrase *λαὸν περισούσιον* in Greek. He gives a Latin version or paraphrase of the difficult word, and also refers to the Latin Canon. It is in the first place³ that he gives the reference in Latin; and in the second place he gives a fuller reference in Greek, and blames the Latin translation 'populum abundantem' which was in the Old-Latin, whereas the Vulgate has 'acceptabilem'.⁴ Then, as a further explanation of the word, he cites the Canon

¹ Dom G. Morin in *R.B.* xxxi (1914), 1, argues for the authorship of Evagrius of Antioch.

² 'Christus autem vicarius Patris est et antistes: ac per hoc dicitur et sacerdos. Similiter et Spiritus Sanctus, missus quasi antistes, "sacerdos" appellatus est "excelsi dei" [Gen. xiv. 18 of Melchizedek]: non "summus", sicut nostri in oblatione praesumunt.' *Quaest. Vet. et Nov. Test.*: qu. 109 (*C.S.E.L.* vol. 1. 268: or *P.L.* xxxv, col. 2329, omitting the word *missus*).

³ 'Populum *περισούσιον*, circa substantiam, hoc est, circa vitam consistentem populum, sicuti et in oblatione dicitur "Munda tibi populum circumvitalem, aemulatorem bonorum operum, circa tuam substantiam venientem".' (Victorinus Afer, *Adv. Arium*, i. 30, *P.L.* viii. 1063.)

⁴ See Sabatier (*Biblia Sacra*, 1751), ad loc. iii. 899.

'The prayer of the Anaphora', in the same sense, which prays *Σῶσον περιούσιον λαόν, ζήλωτὴν καλῶν ἔργων*.¹

These criticisms seem to be references to a Roman Anaphora current in Greek and in a Latin translation in Rome in the second half of the fourth century. They correspond with what would be expected; for the two languages must have gone on side by side for a considerable time, before the Latin acquired the ascendancy, and the use of Greek consequently disappeared, except for some occasions and places.

But the citation of Victorinus, though it throws light on the change of tongue, contributes little else: for the Latin form of the phrase has no place in any extant form of the Canon; and the Greek form is not at all prominent in Greek Anaphoras.²

It suggests, however, that in the fourth century Rome was taking in hand the problem of the two languages. It found itself Greek-speaking predominantly, an island in the midst of a sea of Latin liturgies. If it was to uphold its dignity and authority this situation could not continue.

It was faced also with another problem. Two different types of service had been current: which should it adopt? Hipp. represents the unchanging or stable Anaphora, interchangeable with other Anaphoras, but in itself practically invariable. The 'Gallican' liturgies preferred to have a single framework into which variable prayers were fitted according to season, &c. (see p. 101). The Gallican policy had its dangers, and they became manifest as time went on.³ Variation in the central

¹ 'Oratio oblationis intellectu eodem precatur eum (Christum) *Σῶσον κ.τ.λ.*' (*Adv. Arium*, ii. 8, col. 1094.) Note that the Latin, in having 'munda', cleanse, and not *Σῶσον*, save, is closer to Tit. ii. 14: also that 'oratio oblationis' seems to be the recognized equivalent of the title *ἀναφορά*. See Morin in *R.B.* xl (1928), 134 on these passages. He also draws attention to the evidence for the use in the West of the Proclamation 'Sancta sanctis' and its response 'Unus sanctus', &c., before communion, as in the Greek liturgies. The date would be early in the fifth century. The authorities cited for this are Nicetas of Remesiana, and Fastidius the British bishop.

² Morin (u.s.) cites *L.E.W.* i. 326 (Basil) and 264 (Persian).

³ Signs of the trouble already felt at this date about the excessive variation are visible in Third Council of Carthage, c. 23; and of Milevis, c. 12.

prayers—in the Anaphora itself—could only be tolerable if it was supervised and restrained. Besides, excessive variation made much complexity, much turning over of leaves, and the like.

The emergence of the Canon shows that the Roman Church decided for the stable type in the central part of the rite, as against the variable type; and that it encouraged any extensive variation only in lessons, psalms, &c.; and in the priest's prayers, solely outside the Anaphora. Only on rare occasions, and at non-crucial points, it was allowed in three places within it. The result was a compromise between the types; and doubtless part of the success of the Roman Canon has been due to the wisdom of this compromise.

Such a decision probably accounts for the disappearance in Rome of Hipp. and its descendants—whatever they may have been. It was found preferable to compile a Canon on the basis of the rich store of Latin prayers already existing, and in use not only in Spain, Gaul, Africa, but in Italy also, and perhaps already within the walls of Rome itself, rather than be content with a translation of any existing Roman-Greek Anaphora. It is not suggested that such a decision, or the change issuing from it, was made all at once. Even from the little that is known of the early history of the Canon during the fifth and sixth centuries, down to the changes introduced by St. Gregory, it seems clear that some considerable experiment and alteration was continually going on.

The fifth century, which was a crucial period in the history of the liturgy at Rome, is very obscure as regards the final formation of the Canon. So any attempt to collect information and interpret it during the century and a half between the pontificate of Innocent I (401-17) and the letter of Vigilius to Braga in 538 must be very tentative. It is worth while, however, to attempt to gather together the evidence that is available.

The reign of Innocent was a time of much centralization.

See Bruns, i. 126, 186 or Harduin, i. 963, 1219; and later developments in Gallican areas increased the trouble.

Inquiries came in to him, and he replied to questions from Rouen, Toulouse, Gubbio.¹ The last of these alone concerned liturgical propriety and uniformity. The Pope is surprised to find so near a neighbour² as Decentius, who was himself familiar with Rome and its rites, differing from them. All nonconformity and novelties (he says) should be put down, and the custom of no other church than Rome is to be followed. When he comes to the point, however, only two divergences in the Mass are blamed—the giving of the pax before consecration ('ante confecta mysteria') and the recitation of the names at the Offertory ('antequam precem sacerdos faciat'). Both of them point to a Gallican form of liturgy and Eastern usage being the one that is blamed at Gubbio.

The Pope directs³ that the names are to be recited after the Offertory in the 'mysteria'. This points to the 'Memento', § IV of the Canon: but there is no sign that Innocent has a complete Canon to send as the pattern to be followed, as Vigilius had in 538. It was, however, probably in formation; for the Pope's direction points to some form of (relatively) stabilized *prex*, as contrasted with the series of Gallican prayers and the place held by the variable 'post-nomina' prayers in that rite.

Innocent adds, in conclusion, that he will answer Decentius when they meet as to the other points about which it would be wrong to write. Was the Canon among them?

Meanwhile on the subject of the mode of consecration the battle was not yet in array. The East was becoming increasingly devoted to the epiclesis and laying more stress on it, though

¹ To Victricius (404), *P.L.* xx. 469; to Exuperius, *ibid.* 495; to Decentius of Gubbio, *ibid.* 551; (Innocent, *Epist.* xxv). The last acquired wide diffusion through being placed by Denys the Little (510) first in the set of 57 Decretals ascribed to Innocent (Part 2 of his *Collectio Canonum*: in Justell and Voell's *Bibl. Juris Canonici*, i. 97).

² About 100 miles due north of Rome.

³ 'De nominibus vero recitandis, antequam precem sacerdos faciat, atque eorum oblationes quorum nomina recitanda sunt sua oratione commendet, quam superfluum sit et ipse, pro tua prudentia, recognoscis. . . . Prius ergo oblationes sunt commendandae, ac tunc eorum nomina quorum sunt, edicenda: ut inter sacra mysteria nominentur, non inter alia quae ante praemittimus.' (*l.c.*, cap. 2, col. 553.)

not minimizing the importance of the Word or Words. Rome was quite familiar with this outlook. Both Jerome and Rufinus by their translations made the Greek thought known to the Latin world: and others in the West upheld this view, as we have already seen.

But the influence of SS. Ambrose and Austin told in favour of the theory of consecration by Dominical Words and in the curt form which St. Austin popularized, with the exclusion of any of their references to the work of the Holy Spirit. Doubtless the dissemination of this teaching must have been going on side by side with the compilation of the Canon, and one reacted upon the other.

We have, indeed, some good information as to liturgical progress during this period, but it concerns only the monastic offices used at St. Peter's and not the Mass. As leaders, Damasus (366), Leo (440), Gelasius (492), Symmachus (498), John (523), Boniface (530), Gregory (with a special mention of his works, 590), Martin (649) are the names of a set of popes recorded. Then three abbots of St. Peter's—Catolenus, Maurianus, and Virbonus follow. It is a mere catalogue, but valuable even so: and a similar one for the Mass would be a welcome find.¹

The note on Leo's music is followed by a further mention of 'opuscula in canonica institutione loculentissima ededit', with an anathema pronounced against any one who rejects a jot of them. Also Gelasius gets the credit for his decretals and for the council which he held at St. Peter's.

¹ The brief document *De convivio* to which this is added is in Gerbert, *Monumenta*, ii. 183-5: and was re-edited by Silva-Tarouca in *Miscellanea G.B. De Rossi*, *Memorie*, I. i. 215 (Rome 1923). The gist of it is 'Primus b. Damasus p. . . ordinem ecclesiasticum . . . instituit et ordinavit. Post hunc b. Leo p. annalem cantum omnem instituit. . . Deinde b. Gelasius p. similiter omnem annalem cantum seu et decretalia canonum honeste atque diligentissime, facto in sede beati Petri apostoli convento sacerdotum plurimorum, conscripsit. Post hunc Simachus p. similiter et ipse annalem suum cantum ededit. Iterum post hunc Ioannes p. similiter et ipse anni circuli cantum omni ordine conscripsit. Post hunc Bonifacius p. qui inspirante sancto Spiritu et regulam conscripsit et cantilenam anni circuli ordinavit. Post hos quoque b. Gregorius p. . . et cunctum anni circuli nobilem ededit. Post hunc Martinus p. similiter et ipse anni circuli cantum ededet.' The three abbots are each credited also with music for the year.

These notes do not help our inquiry; but incidentally they probably had an influence on the names given to the two early Roman Sacramentaries, and they show some signs of the liturgical activity which was going on.

Of more value is the note already cited in the *Liber Pontificalis* that Leo added to the 'Supra quae' the words 'sanctum sacrificium', &c.¹ We ask why? Do they add anything of importance to the sense? or do they tidy up a loose end, or fill a gap? and, if so, what gap? Is the addition insignificant or significant? And, if significant, what does it signify?² The position is a crucial one from the point of view of any epiclesis.

Leaving these queries open, we are on more solid ground in dealing with the Leonine style of liturgical composition which is so recognizably close to his style elsewhere, e.g. in the sermons. It is very distinguished and very distinctive. Austere economy of phrase and delicate perception of rhythm and balance mark it off clearly from the more exuberant and boisterous Latin of the Gallican prayers. The Leonine Sacramentary is well named after Leo, for it is dominated by his style.

¹ 'Hic constituit ut intra actionem sacrificii diceretur *sanctum sacrificium*, et reliqua.' (*L.P.* i. 239.) It is not clear what *et reliqua* involves; probably more than merely the two words which appear in § xi. If so, then the puzzling passage in xii about the angel (which occupies the place where an Invocation might have been expected or even existed) may have been moved from here.

² A comparison with the text of the *De sacramentis* and the Mozarabic form (627) shows how §§ xi and xii and the corresponding 'post mysterium' prayers have been shuffled about. See Botte, p. 43. The *Tol. Sacr.* 627 runs thus: '*Post Pridie*. Hoc agentes apud te, Pater sancte, &c. (a credal anamnesis) . . . Hanc quoque oblationem ut accepto habeas et benedicas supplices exoramus sicut . . . Abel . . . Abrahæ . . . Melchisedech. Descendat hic quaeso invisibiliter benedictio tua sicut quondam in Patrum hostias visibiliter descendebat. Ascendat odor suavitatis in conspectu divinae maiestatis tuae ex hoc sublimi altario tuo per manus Angeli tui: et deferatur in ista solemnia Spiritus tuus sanctus qui tam adstantis quam offerentis populi et oblata pariter et vota sanctificet. Ut quicunque ex hoc Corpore libaverimus, sumamus nobis medelam animae, &c.' St. Leo's four words would be a poor substitute for the full text. Were they added where an excision had taken place? Note that the commemoration of Abel, Abraham, and Melchizedek comes again in the Mozarabic rite, viz. at 1420, being in one of the *Quotidianae Missae*. Note also the Gallican references (p. 149).

The Canon, on the other hand, shows none of such qualities:¹ and thus also it is shown to be in the main a compilation brought together from Gallican sources.

It is probably therefore safe to say that the Canon, as a scheme at least, was in existence before the middle of the century.² Innocent, indeed, may have already had it, but felt himself debarred by the *disciplina arcani* (which still survived, though this century saw it go) from communicating it in writing to Decentius.

There is some further papal evidence to be brought in before the fifth century ends: and it is of a somewhat perplexing nature.

Two passages from Pope Gelasius seem to imply the existence in his day (492-6) of some Invocation of the Holy Spirit to consecrate the Eucharist. The one takes for certain the advent of the Heavenly Spirit at the consecration of the divine mystery,³ and bases on that fact a moral exhortation to the celebrant. The other passage argues, against Eutyches and Nestorius, in the traditional way, from the accepted fact of the consecration being through the Holy Spirit in the Eucharist, to the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation.⁴ These passages, it is true, give little indication (except the word 'advent') of what was expressed concerning the Holy Spirit's Eucharistic action: but they would be quite out of harmony with an Anaphora or Canon which excluded all idea of such an activity. What, then, was being thought

¹ Note especially the tendency to pile up word upon word—§ III, 'haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata . . . pacificare, custodire, adunare et regere'; § VII, 'benedictam adscriptam ratam rationabilem acceptabilemque'; § X, 'hostiam puram hostiam sanctam hostiam immaculatam.' These are dumps of words as compared with Leo's delicately poised phrases.

² The chief subsequent changes are those of St. Gregory (590-604) and the addition of Memento (p. 155).

³ 'Ad divini mysterii consecrationem caelestis Spiritus adveniet.' (Thiel, i. 486, letter of Gelasius to Elpidius.) This was enshrined in Gratian's Canon Law: II Caus. I, quaest. i, c. 92.

⁴ 'Certe sacramenta quae sumimus corporis et sanguinis Christi divina res est . . . et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini. Et certe imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur. Satis ergo nobis evidenter ostenditur, hoc nobis in ipso Christo domino sentiendum quod in eius imagine profitemur celebramus et sumimus: ut sicut in hanc, scilicet in divinam, transeant, sancto spiritu perficiente, substantiam, &c.' (Ibid. i. 541, Tract iii, § 14.)

or said in Rome on the subject at the end of the fifth century? Whatever it was, it was bound to be under the influence of the existing Latin rites; and in fact the compiling of the Canon must have gone on under that influence. It must have been nearing its close; for forty years later Pope Vigilius was supplying Profuturus of Braga with a changeless formula, which must have been in almost all main respects, one would gather, settled, and equivalent to the familiar Canon.

Worshippers in the Latin tongue had already provided great collections of prayers available for use: and these formed a quarry for Rome to utilize. It is only necessary to look through the group of Missae Dominicales in the *Missale Gothicum* in order to find examples of the way in which early 'Gallican' prayers have influenced the Canon.¹ For example:

<i>M.G.</i>	<i>Canon</i>
479. POST NOMINA. Istis et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus domine locum refrigerii lucis et pacis ut indulgeas deprecamur. Ac si qui peccatorum &c.	§ XIII. Ipsi et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus deprecamur: per C. d. n.
527. POST SECRETA. Memores glori- sissimi domini passionis et ab inferis resurrectionis offerimus tibi d. hanc immaculatam hostiam rationalem hostiam incruentam hostiam hunc panem sanctum et calicem salutarem, obsecrantes ut infundere digne- ris spiritum tuum sanctum edentibus nobis vitam eternam regnumque perpetuum con- latura potantibus. per. ²	§ x. Unde et memores sumus d. nos tui servi sed et plebs tua sancta Christi filii tui d. D. nostri tam beatæ passionis necnon et ab inferis resurrectionis sed et in caelos gloriosæ ascen- sionis offerimus praeclaræ maiestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis hostiam puram hostiam sanctam hostiam immaculatam panem sanctum vitæ eternæ et calicem salutis perpetuæ

¹ See the full and elaborate investigation of Gallican Epicleses by Dr. Atchley in his § 40.

² The invocational words do not appear in the Canon. Instead § XI asks

M.G.

84. COLLECTIO POST NOMINA.

Auditus nominibus. . . . &c.
 et accepto ferre
 ut accepto tulit Abel
 iusti sui munera,
 et Abrahæ patriarchæ
 sui hostias.

Canon

§ XI. Supra quæ propitio ac sereno
 vultu respicere digneris
 et accepta habere
 sicuti accepta habere dignatus es
 munera pueri t. iust Abel
 et sacrificium &c. Abrahæ
 et quod tibi obtulit summus
 sacerdos tuus Melchisedech
 [sanctum sacrificium, immacula-
 tam hostiam] *fr. St. Leo.*

Elsewhere too in the rites this is so, besides the cues common to both services, and such obvious similarities as those in the prayers before and after the Lord's Prayer.

342. POST-SANCTUS. Hanc igitur
 oblationem familie tue tibi
 adstantes
 quorum tibi fides cognita est,
 et nota devotio,
 quam tibi offerunt

pro devotione animorum su-
 orum

pro quorum tibi placitis desi-
 deriis supplicamus memor
 esse dignare, D.S.P.E., &c.
 &c. per christum dominum
 nostrum.

342. Quam oblationem tu deus
 in omnibus q. benedictam
 ascriptam
 (*et reliqua.*)¹

§ IV. Memento d. famulorum famu-
 larumque tuorum et omnium cir-
 cumadstantium
 quorum &c.
 devotio,
 qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium,
 laudis

pro se suisque omnibus

pro redemptione animarum &c.
 tibi reddunt vota sua eterno deo
 vivo et vero.

§ VII. Quam oblationem.
 adscriptam,
 ratam, &c.

Such similarities are not confined to the *Missale Gothicum*. The *Missale Gallicanum* preserves some.

N. and F.

p. 157. POST SANCTUS. Vere sanctus,
 &c. per quem te d. et quæ-
 sumus ut hanc
 oblationem gratam atque
 acceptabilem suscipere
 benedicere, ac sanctificare di-
 gneris,

§ VI. Hanc igitur oblationem &c.

quaesumus domine ut placatus
 accipias.

[diesque nostros, &c.] *fr. St. Gregory.*

merely for God's acceptance, in words similar to those which *M.G.* uses at the Offertory.

¹ The text is probably corrupt. The 'Quam oblationem' follows immediately after the doxology without any title, and incomplete.

N. and F.

Quam tibi offerimus
 pro pace ecclesiae tuae
 pro sacerdotum tuorum &c.
 pro statu loci huius
 atque omnium habitantium in
 eo,
 pro votis adstantium
 et omnium commemoratione
 sanctorum,
 et pro requie defunctorum. per.

Canon

§ III. Te igitur &c. in primis quae tibi
 offerimus pro ecclesia tua &c.
 quam pacificare &c.

In the much larger collection of variant prayers preserved in the Mozarabic Rite many more instances may be found. Besides there are some scattered fragments of other Gallican prayers which have also maintained a precarious existence: and among these, too, such similarities occur.¹

With the Milanese Rites the connexion is close: and if we knew what sort of Anaphora St. Ambrose used (or could work back from the *De Sacramentis* and the later 'Ambrosian' Canon to it) we should probably have a very close parallel to the Roman problem, and might even discover whether it was Milan that moved first along this line of development, or Rome. In fact the evidence as to Milan is even scantier than that of Rome. But it is necessary to reckon with north Italy when estimating, in general, the Gallican and Latin sources on which Rome might have drawn when its Canon was being first formed, probably in St. Ambrose's time.

The upshot seems to be that there is no solution available, as things are, of the problem regarding the compilation of the Canon, nor any explanation of its peculiarities. The general outline is normal. 1. I Versicles. 2. II Preface (*Illatio*). 3. III *Post*

¹ See Botte, pp. 33-45. And take this for example. In the so-called 'Oratio S. Ambrosii episcopi' inserted in the Roman Missal as an optional part of the priest's preparation for celebrating there is to be found (for Friday):

'Peto clementiam t. D. ut descendat super panem tibi sacrificandum plenitudo tuae benedictionis et sanctificatio tuae divinitatis; descendat etiam d. illa Sancti Spiritus tui invisibilis incomprehensibilisque majestas, sicut quondam in patrum hostias descendebat, qui et oblationes nostras Corpus et Sanguinem tuum efficiat.'

An interesting survival of a Gallican prayer and outlook. Cp. p. 147; and Dom. Wilmart's text in *Auteurs Spirituels* (1932), p. 121.

sanctus ('Te igitur'), with VI and VII: in VIII and IX *Mysterium* or *Secreta* ('Qui pridie'). x-xii *Post pridie* or Anamnesis ('Unde et memores', 'Supra quae', 'Supplices te'). xv Doxology. xvi Lord's Prayer preceded by Praefatio, and followed by the Oratio ('Libera nos', &c.).

But interpolations, and possibly omissions and transpositions, have in its early days deprived it of any formal coherence.

Into the intricacies of this problem, and the many solutions proposed, it is not to our purpose to enter.

There are, however, four points at which there emerges some matter of importance which bears upon that which is our main object, viz. the elucidation of the essentials to be safeguarded, and of the ideal to be followed, in the composition of any Anaphora.

XV

CAVENDA I-III

I

THE first of these four points concerns the place and nature of the Intercessions.

The Greek liturgies in the early part of the service favour the litany form for this purpose. The deacon enunciates to the people the several topics and persons for whom prayer is especially to be asked, and they reply; while the priest is interceding separately. The chief place for this intercession originally was at the Dismissals, i.e. before the Mass of the Faithful. Further Intercession was made afterwards, but by the priest, not the deacon, on behalf of the people. Both were anterior to the Anaphora. But a centripetal tendency at a very early stage brought the Intercessions to claim a place in the Anaphora. The place given to them varies in the different families of liturgy—and indeed this variety serves to distinguish the families one from another.

The *Deprecatio* of Gelasius (492-6) shows that Rome began the movement for the introduction of the diaconal litany from the East into the Roman Mass late in the fifth century. Thus a litany of the Eastern type, with Kyries among the refrains, was prefixed to the Roman Mass, which up till then had begun with the reading of the lessons. Then in 529 the Council of Vaison followed suit and directed Gallican dioceses to follow and adopt the custom. This they did; and maintained it more tenaciously than Rome.

This kind of *deprecatio* was, like the Eastern ἐκτενή, an alternation of petitions (*preces*) and refrain. On week-days at Rome in St. Gregory's time it was liable to be curtailed by the omission of the petitions.¹ So in course of time it was cut down till

¹ Letter to John of Syracuse, *P.L.* lxxvii. 956.

nothing was left except a repetition of 'Kyries'. These, with the alternative (introduced by St. Gregory) of 'Christe eleyson', were ultimately stabilized in the familiar ninefold form that survives at the beginning of Mass; and the triple 'Kyrie' used in the Offices in another form of survival.¹

The diaconal litanies had been mainly concerned with the 'Mass of the Catechumens' and the dismissals of those who were not to attend the Mass of the Faithful. When all this discipline and ceremony disappeared, it was natural that the diaconal litany should thus shrink into mere Kyries, on the one hand, or continue as a form of general intercession, outside Mass, on the other hand.

But there remains the question of the Intercessions of the Faithful, which often included the 'Names' for whom, on one or other ground, special prayer was to be asked.

The Roman Rite once had these priest's intercessions in regular use, just as the Gallican rites had. But these, too, shrivelled up for the most part, just as did the Offertory also, which was their nearest neighbour. The solemn prayers of Maundy Thursday still preserve them in something like their old form. But in the ordinary Mass all that remains is the salutation—'Dominus vobiscum', and the bidding to prayer 'Oremus', to show where they once were. No intercessory prayers now follow, but the Offertory begins.²

The centripetal force already mentioned served to save within the Roman Canon some of the intercessions that shrivelled up in the earlier positions. The Intercessions that were said before the Anaphora were for the people, for kings, and others:³ at

¹ See Capelle, in *R.B.* xlv (1934), 126-44 on this subject of the *Deprecatio*.

² See another view of this in *D.A.C.L.* ix. 1552.

³ To judge by the words in Ps.-Ambrose, *De Sacramentis*, *P.L.* xvi. 22 (p. 129). The Gallican Intercessions consisted, in their fullest form, of (a) Prefatio, (b) Collectio, (c) ante nomina, (d) post nomina, all preceding the Offertory and the Kiss of Peace. As this group of prayers became specialized and adapted to days and seasons, the intercessory element made way for the special intentions. But the *oratio post nomina* continued to be connected with (i) the departed, and (ii) the offerers, to whom it specially belonged. Elsewhere, however, in some of the intercessory groups the general list of

least this was so in the parallel case of Milan, where they hold their place still on the first two Sundays.

The Intercessions which were saved thus from disappearance by insertion in the Canon are in § III, 'We offer these gifts for Thy Holy Catholic Church, its peace, preservation, reunion, and direction throughout the whole world: together with thy servant *N.* our pope',¹ and § IV the *Memento* of the living,² those present and offering, with their belongings.

This evidence surviving shows how the Intercessions were transferred into the Canon in a greatly curtailed form, and a gaping hole was left in the Mass of the Faithful. Both these are disadvantages, and to be avoided.

The *Memento* of the dead (p. 141) came into the Canon much later. It is traceable in the ninth or tenth century, probably making its way first as an occasional addition, and then acquiring a permanent place (as § XIII). Perhaps it was rescued from a Gallican source;³ for it is archaic in thought and language, and the variety of text suggests a compilation made from various *post nomina* prayers.

II

The second point calling for attention is the articulation of the Preface, or rather the preservation in a full form of the long Benediction of God with which the Preamble to the Sacrifice should open. In course of time, when the 'Sanctus' was introduced, it divided this benediction into two parts—a Com-

intentions was preserved much as it is in the *Deprecatio*: the Church, the Clergy, Virgins, and Continents, Widows, Orphans, Sick, Possessed, Pilgrims, &c., together with Unity and King's Peace. See *Miss. Goth.* No. 499, 512 (N. and F., pp. 144, 146), and the Reichenau Book as given in N. and F. at p. 20. Compare also the Paschal set of twelve intercessions in *M.G.* 228-51 (N. and F., pp. 91-4), and *Miss. Gallic.*, 176, 186 and ff.

¹ Some manuscript texts add 'our bishop', or 'abbot': and (or) 'et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicæ et apostolicæ fidei cultoribus'.

² Some manuscripts include also here, the King (by name), the people, and the names in detail, but only on week-days.

³ Such as the Stowe Missal (*H.B.S.* xxxi. 11), which preserves early features of the Canon that have vanished: see Botte for details: and in general *D.A.C.L.* ix. 1554.

memoration of God's mercies first in Creation and throughout the Old Covenant; and, second, in the Incarnation, Redemption, and the New Covenant. This first part tended in all the Latin liturgies to be reduced, and even to vanish, except for a sentence leading in the 'Sanctus', and thence the Preamble proceeded at once to the second part, or to a special topic. This is clear in the variable Gallican forms of 'Illatio' or 'Contestatio missae' as in the fixed 'praefatio' of the Canon: for in this respect (§ II) the *Vere dignum* is a fixed form, though one of a strictly rationed set of proper prefaces is brought in on occasions to emphasize some special topic.¹ The haste to come to the N.T. mercies is intelligible: but the vanishing of the first part of the great Eucharistic Benediction is regrettable.²

Equally regrettable is the loss of continuity in the Anaphora caused by the insertion after the 'Sanctus' of the displaced bits of intercession in §§ III and IV (*Memento*, &c.) as well as the commemoration of the Saints in § v *Communicantes*, &c.

Both §§ IV and v reveal themselves as intruders; the first by making a new start with '*Memento*', the second by retaining its own private ending. The '*Hanc igitur*' VI, probably connects with the early part of § III³ when once the intercessions imported there are disregarded, and the prayer for acceptance of the oblation is resumed or renewed. It has its echo also in § VII. Thus the acceptance of the oblation is the one idea that dominates all the three clauses III, VI, and VII. This, at any rate, is the logical sequence; and it holds good, whatever may have

¹ See below, p. 163, note.

² The Gallican Masses of the ordinary Sundays, however, not being diverted from their model by any special interest, kept some relics of the O.T. Commemoration; for example *M.G.* No. 481. 'Dignum et iustum est. . . Te igitur ineffabilem rerum conditorem laudamus benedicimus adoramus.' Similarly *ibid.* No. 492.

³ See the connexion as follows: and compare p. 145.

'III. Te igitur clementissime pater . . . supplices rogamus et petimus uti accepta habeas et benedicas haec dona, haec munera, haec sancta sacrificia illibata.' [Many forms of this part of the 'Contestatio' existed and exist, some embodying at length intercessions and intentions which here in VI are summarized in the words 'et cunctae familiae'.] Then the 'accepta habeas' of III is resumed by the words in VI 'ut placatus accipias'; then again, in VII, the act of oblation is carried on or repeated with 'acceptabilem facere'.

been the manipulations which produced the present state of the text. This existing confusion of thought and expression is a poor substitute for the commemoration of Natural religion which has disappeared.

With regard to § VIII, the Recital of the Institution, which closes the second part of the Commemoration, it is to be remembered that, historically and in essence, it is not a separate section, but the climax of the Preface, rehearsing the mercies of the New Covenant. It should retain its prefatory character, and serve as the immediate prelude to the Act of sacrifice. The word 'Qui' of 'Qui pridie' carries the narrative on from the set of relative clauses, on which, in the normal type, all the second part of the Preamble is built up.¹ This structural scheme should in some way not be lost or obscured. It secures that the Recital, being thus a conclusive part of the historical summary of the book of Redemption, stands out as the final warrant for proceeding to make the commemorative sacrifice, which our Lord thus ordered. On this warrant the Church is entitled to see that His order is carried out in the 'Unde et memores'. The word 'Unde' is in fact an appeal to the authority that has just been set forth in the Preamble: and the Church, after citing it, passes on to offer the sacrifice.

At the same time the Recital has in view the Communion. It stands also as a warrant to the communicants that our Lord's Words of Administration really mean what they say. It is in this sense that the early patristic catechetical instructions appeal so constantly to the Words of the Lord, being anxious to give a reassurance to all about the reality of what they receive in feeding on the sacrifice just offered. It was a later development when the theologians began to attribute to the Dominical Words as said in the prefatory Recital, not merely the warrant, but a power of consecration in themselves.

The effect of this theological development must be discussed later. For the moment it is the liturgical significance, structure, and *rationale* of the rite itself which we are concerned

¹ See above, p. 48.

to emphasize. For, indeed, a readjustment of view about the relation of the Preface or Preamble to the substantive action of the offering of the sacrifice of the Mass which follows, is much needed in popular Eucharistic theology.

III

The third point to be emphasized is the importance of the specific Act of offering. This is fully secured in the Canon at § x. The Gallican prayers 'post mysterium', which should express it, became often lamentably deficient. It is therefore necessary here to enlarge upon the point.

It was the offering of this Commemorative Sacrifice which our Lord specifically enjoined: and both 'consecration', as we now call it,¹ and communion are authorized and made possible for us only as parts of this sacrifice. The pre-eminence of the conception of sacrifice was clearly set forth in the old liturgies for the most part; but in practice popular devotion, spreading itself over a wide area, and not without some conniving on the part of the theologians, has minimized it. Thus in popular usage the centre of gravity has often been displaced, and the balance has been upset. Sometimes the pre-eminence has been transferred away to the thought of consecration, sometimes it has been concentrated on the reception of communion: in either case there is some distortion of ideas, in making dominant what, strictly speaking, is secondary, being subordinate to the Sacrifice itself. It is the Sacrifice which throughout is supreme. Thus (1) the offering of the Gifts for the Commemorative Sacrifice; (2) the prayer for their hallowing; (3) the Act of offering in remembrance of Christ; (4) the prayer for their acceptance by the Father as the Memorial of the Son; (5) the feeding upon the Gifts thus offered, blessed, accepted, and now administered to the offerers in a new quality—such may be said to be, in rough outline, the *rationale* of the Eucharist.

¹ The term has shifted away from the early words *εὐχαριστεῖν* and *εὐλογεῖν* with their sacrificial connotation. Even in Latin the corresponding use of *Benedictio* has become rare, and after St. Ambrose *consecratio* becomes general.

Such is also its sequence, so far as time-sequence has anything to do with the matter. Doubtless it must be allowed to come into account, since it has an inevitable significance for the worshipper. But the less that such a limitation of the human mind is allowed to influence human devotion, the nearer the worshipper is brought to the eternal reality,¹ and saved from making needlessly cheap and unintelligent the heavenly worship in which he is privileged to bear his part.

It appears that this tendency to distort the Sacrifice must be traced back to a point as early as the end of the third century (p. 39). By this time the appreciation and understanding of Sacrifice had greatly declined throughout the religious world. Jewish sacrifices had ceased, and heathen sacrifice was more than ever discredited and formal. This situation affected the Christian Church, and tended to displace the centre of attention from the Act of Sacrifice to a point elsewhere; while at the same time other circumstances, independently, were tending to concentrate attention more in another section of the prayer.

It is evident in the beginning of the third century that the significance of Consecration is being more fully explored—especially in Africa, and under the stress of more systematic persecution. The consecrated Host is then acutely realized as having in itself, and also when separated from the Liturgy and its immediate surroundings, its full value and awesomeness. Services are in consequence greatly multiplied. Reservation is practised with a freedom which would not now in our days seem justified. The main emphasis was passing away from Sacrifice to Communion, and (especially when Communion took

¹ This policy, deprecating human attempts at timing divine mysteries and operations, was formulated as early as the end of the third century by the great biblical scholar Victorinus, Bishop of Pettau in Styria. Commenting on Rev. vii. 2, he wrote: 'Non aspiciendus est ordo dictorum, quoniam saepe Spiritus Sanctus ubi ad novissimi temporis finem percurrerit rursus ad eadem tempora redit, et supplet ea quae minus dixit. Neque requirendus est ordo in Apocalypsi, sed intellectus sequendus est eorum quae prophetata sunt.' (*P.L.* v. 331.)

But note that the latest editor (J. Haussleiter in *C.S.E.L.*, vol. xlix) shows that this is not original, but one of the subsequent additions to the commentary of Victorinus.

place outside the service) to the miracle of Consecration. Man's homage to God lost its prominence, as divine graciousness and marvel absorbed attention. The question began to be raised, 'At what point does the Consecration take place?' or 'By what divine operation?' Now it might wisely have been considered enough to answer 'Do not ask', 'We know not'. 'We are not told of any formula, by or with which Christ blessed the Bread and Cup. We only are told the words with which He administered them; and however much we ought, and wish, closely to copy what He did, yet those words are not available for the celebrant or ministrant to use now at the administration.'

It might have been wiser, seeing the circumstances, to decline the question in that form, and to be content to answer: 'The Consecration lies in the whole observance of what we were told to do, in fact in the prescribed Memorial Sacrifice—in the whole Anaphora therefore, and not in part.' But two divergent habits or tendencies in mind and outlook were revealing themselves in this attempt to reach a preciseness of answer as to time and mode. Soon these two hardened and began to become traditional rivals and even controversial.

To some types of devotional attention the attractive magnet lay in the Words of the Saviour. To such minds it mattered little that, as a matter of structure, those words, as recited in the Anaphora, formed simply a part of a relative sentence, read in the course of the Preamble. For them that difficulty would be one easy to overcome, by making, e.g., an alteration in their position and syntax—a radical change, but not inconceivable. To them, too, it would not seem to matter that His Words as spoken were not consecratory but administrative. They were the Gospel Words, and as such held a position which no others could claim. This was a strong argument; and especially so at a time when the idea of effecting some result by the recitation of a powerful formula was a very familiar and popular one. So belief in the Gifts would be safeguarded.

To other types of mind it was more natural to regard Consecration as a consummation of the Sacrifice by the power and

coming of the Holy Ghost; and to mistrust any view that suggested a sort of incantation.

It is along these two divergent lines that we see Christian thought being led upon the subject during this post-Constantinian period. Each of them is liable to swerve away and detract from the centrality of the Act of Sacrifice. Bearing this in mind, we must pursue our historical inquiry farther.

In the early stages there was no inevitable clash between the two. The terms 'Epiclesis' and 'Invocatio' then referred to the whole prayer without distinction, from the time of St. Irenaeus at least and onward: and the Greek-speaking world was content to have it so. When the work of the Holy Spirit had found explicit recognition in the prayer, a second possible focus for the thought of consecration came into prominence; then a Words-view of the mode of consecration was confronted by a Spirit-view, yet the two views were not in themselves found mutually exclusive, but taken as complementary. So it was explained by the great theologians who could speak of both, each, or either part of the prayer as the consecratory part. But several things entered in to complicate the situation.

First, it must be remembered again, that in the days before the Nicene Council considerable ambiguity, or even confusion, as to the relation of the Son and the Spirit still possessed the Christian mind in general. And, in this particular connexion, it was not unknown that an invocation of the Logos in some circles should take the place that ultimately was more properly ascribed to the Holy Spirit.¹ It was doubtless an easy transition from using the word 'Logos', or 'Verbum', in one sense to using it in the other. For example, when some one cited St. Austin's epigrammatic phrase, 'Adde verbum, et fit sacramentum', it might be dubious in which sense it was being used. Was he referring the Consecration in the Eucharist to the Son or to the Spirit under the name of *Λόγος* or 'Verbum'? To the Latin-speaking peoples 'Verbum' meant a spoken word; and it was only with difficulty, hesitation, and some learning, that

¹ See above pp. 53, 79, for some account of this.

they could take it as the equivalent of the Greek 'Logos'. This fact gave a very favourable handicap in the Latin world to the theory of Consecration by the Recital of Words.

On the other hand, much depended on the fact that considerable amplification of the old brief clause about the Holy Spirit was being carried out: and this amplification also diverted attention from the Act of Offering, referring it to the Prayer for the sending of the Holy Spirit.

Hipp. (p. 51) has nothing more than 'Send Him on the oblation of the Holy Church'. In the obscure years that follow Hippolytus much was evidently taking place; but little is known of the progress of development till the middle of the fourth century.

On the whole, attention was being diverted from the Sacrifice, either towards the Dominical Words or towards the Invocation of God, the Trinity, the Name, the Logos, or, finally, the Holy Spirit.

Then, when evidence begins to become more ample, soon we find ourselves confronted with a developed 'Invocation clause' in most quarters, so far as we can judge, except possibly one. The developed contents vary. In some the Invocation of the coming of the Holy Spirit refers mainly, or even wholly, to His coming to the communicants; in others to His descent upon the Elements; elsewhere to both. Further, the relation of the Invocation of the Holy Spirit to the Bread and Cup is described in more or in less detail, growing and culminating in a very full statement concerning the transformation thus accomplished of the Bread and Cup into Christ's Body and Blood by the operation of the Holy Spirit.

There is reason to believe that this practice of linking up consecration with the Third Person, in some form, was once prevalent universally. Trinitarian doctrine demanded some recognition of the Spirit's work;¹ and what else could it be but some work of consecration? Where the practice has not sur-

¹ See Chapter III, and the early recognition of the Holy Spirit's share in the mysteries by Justin and Irenaeus (32-5).

vived, some traces remain of its disappearance. This is true both where there has been a complete disappearance of all and any mention of the Holy Spirit, as also in cases where there has been a minimizing policy at work which was unwilling bluntly to attribute the Consecration to His sanctifying grace.¹

It is in the Roman Canon that this transformation is clearest. There, first it had to be decided whether in providing an equivalent for the Greek Anaphora (which was disappearing out of Roman use) it should be one as unvarying as the old Anaphora was, or it should conform to the Western, or 'Gallican', compound form with its great variety of changing prayers. The Canon, then, has kept in the main to the unvarying type, admitting only three opportunities in the Anaphora for change—the Preface 'Vere dignum', the 'Communicantes', and the 'Hanc igitur', all of them preliminary to the Recital of the Institution.²

The Gallican Anaphora, on the other hand, as has already been shown, had at least three openings provided for the insertion of variants in its Anaphora, or Central Prayer, before the conclusion of it was reached by the saying of the Lord's Prayer with its two attendant variants. What is more important is the fact that two of these openings came before the Recital of the Institution, and one came after. It was doubtless felt in Rome, and perhaps elsewhere also, to be unwise to leave the central part of the prayer, to which the Preamble led up, liable to so much variation. The 'Gallican' prayer at this point (that called 'Post pridie' or 'Post secreta') ought, according to the traditional scheme, to give expression to two most important things, namely, the Offering of the Sacrifice in accordance with the Saviour's precept and the Commemoration of the Holy Spirit.

¹ See above p. 114.

² The use of these opportunities also became more restricted. The Leonine Sacramentary contains some 250 Prefaces: the Gelasian has over 200. In later books the number went both up and down, declining indeed finally to 11. The other two sets of variants were more crucial, and more restricted. The Leonine in its present decapitated form has only four 'Communicantes' insets, the Gelasian had a dozen. The number has now come down to half that. Of 'Hanc igitur' insets the Leonine has some ten, mostly for Votive or Occasional Masses, as against thrice as many Gelasian. Later the number fell again in the Sacramentary of Hadrian.

In the compilation of the Latin Canon (as we may suppose) for the former purpose Gallican usage had ready at hand to be utilized the familiar *Unde et memores* existing among its own 'Post pridie' prayers. It came into place to be the fixed 'Anamnesis', § x of the Canon.¹ Two other prayers were joined on to it, with a doxology, §§ xi and xii. Thus the Canon makes abundantly clear the Act of Sacrifice, followed by prayer for its acceptance, with intercession for the communicants, and doxology.

But the second thing, the Eucharistic action of the Holy Spirit, is omitted. The Canon thus ceased to be trinitarian in the old way: and the only reference to the Holy Spirit was the brief mention in the doxology.

A note on the Fraction

Here something must be said of the importance of the 'Breaking of the Bread'. As a phrase it represents a most familiar feature in our Lord's life and a conspicuous one of the Last Supper. It became one of the most familiar names for the Eucharist in the Apostolic days.

It was not only a name, but it came to denote a ceremony of fraction which actually took place in the Liturgy. There are three places where such an action is in question: the first is in the Recital, where the purpose of the act is imitative; the celebrant suits the action to the word. The Fraction is rarely used at this point.

The second place lies either just before or just after the Lord's Prayer. Here the act is symbolical and important.

The third is immediately before Communion, where the act is utilitarian—a comminution of the Sacrament for the purpose of administration.

The second of these is the important one, because it universally emphasizes the Consummation of the Sacrifice: as such it properly is accompanied by a special prayer, marking the central point of the offering.

In the Roman Rite, characteristically, the prayer has been done away and the Fraction takes place in silence. This is one of the signs of the displacement of the centre of gravity already noted as having wrought havoc there (p. 40).

¹ See above, p. 139, and Botte, p. 41, for the § x of the Canon and the Gallican parallels.

After the act of Fraction, i.e. subdividing a loaf, has taken place, various ways of handling the portions have prevailed in different times and places: and have received some mystical interpretation. They are of subordinate importance as compared with the ceremonial Fraction itself: for that lays stress on the Sacrifice itself; and indeed should mark a central moment, if any moment is to be made to stand out as pivotal.

XVI

CAVENDUM IV

THE Roman Canon having failed in this respect, or being suspected of doing so, the fourth liturgical point that calls for our attention is the 'post-mysterium' or 'post-secreta' of the non-Roman system, the point at which it is expected that some recognition of the agency of the Holy Spirit may be made. Partly this is so on general trinitarian grounds, and partly because we have seen it in both East and West. Some brief amount of recapitulation will be helpful; for the development is long and complicated. And as the controversy developed it has often been side-tracked, and the main question, which is a simple one, has been lost, or submerged in technical discussion about words like *epiclesis*.

What place is there for the agency of the Holy Spirit in the H. Eucharist? It is not evident in the Latin Roman Canon of the fifth or sixth century: but in the third century the Greek Anaphora of Hippolytus had found a place for a brief (almost non-committal) recognition of the sort (p. 51). We look at §§ x, xi, xii of the Canon, which represent the Gallican 'post-mysterium' or 'post-secreta' prayer, or the corresponding section of the Eastern Liturgies; but there is no clear reference to any Eucharistic action of the Holy Spirit. For the Latin forms of *epiclesis* reference must be made to the Gallican Mass-books. Those which survive represent only the last expiring stages of the rite: they, in the eighth to tenth centuries, exhibit these prayers in various degrees of definiteness or indefiniteness. Many fail to mention definitely the Holy Spirit as the Consecrating Power, or indeed to make any explicit and personal allusion to Him at all. Some writers have therefore argued that this indefiniteness is a sign of early date; and that definiteness increased later. This was certainly the case in the Eastern development of the third and fourth centuries. But the tendency was quite otherwise five or six

centuries later in the West. Then a minimizing policy was being pursued, probably under Roman influence. Indeed, the surviving prayers sometimes show plainly how crudely and carelessly the minimizing redactor has done his work: and he has betrayed himself.

The normal form prays for benediction of the Sacrifice, and the bedewing or infusion of the Holy Spirit, that it may be a true Eucharist to the receivers, and uses such phrases as these:

'ut hoc sacrificium tua benedictione benedicas, et S. Spiritus tui rore perfundas, ut accipientibus universis legitima sit eucharistia: per,' or, 'ut in his creaturis . . . Spiritum sanctificationis infundas'.¹

Where there is a more definite type of invocation, it normally develops into a petition for the transformation of the gifts to be the Body and Blood of Christ, continuing thus:

'ut, per transfusionem caelestis atque invisibilis sacramenti, panis hic mutatus in carnem et calix translatus in sanguinem, sit offerentibus gratia, sit sumentibus medicina'.²

But elsewhere in many 'post-secreta' prayers all has been toned down: not the Holy Spirit, but the fullness of divine majesty is invoked. The transformation contemplated is conceived vaguely as effecting a 'legitimate eucharist' of the Body and Blood, and then the prayer passes on to speak of the benefits desired for the participants.³ The phrase 'legitimate eucharist'⁴ usually betrays, in more or less degree, the hand of the minimizing innovator, both here and in other non-Roman books of the eighth and ninth centuries and later, both French and Spanish.⁵

¹ These are taken from Reich, which is probably the most ancient authority. N. and F., pp. 4, 8, 15. A later and more elaborate specimen is *M.G.* 100.

² *Tol. Sacr.*, Appendix, 1377.

³ 'Descendat d. plenitudo maiestatis . . . et gloriae tuae super hunc panem et super hunc calicem; et fiat nobis legitima eucharistia in transformatione corporis et sanguinis domini: ut quicumque', &c. (N. and F. 11.)

⁴ Cp. *M.G.* 57, 154, 271, and above pp. 38, 41, 114; or N. and F., pp. 47, 74, 99. In the last case the Invocation is in the 'Post-sanctus' and thus precedes the 'Mysterium'. 'Te oramus uti hoc sacrificium tua benedictione benedicas et Spiritus Sancti tui rore perfundas, ut sit nobis legitima eucharistia. Per Christum d. n. Qui pridie.' See the note 13 to Atchley, p. 168.

⁵ There survives in a single leaf of a Gallican service-book (Caius Coll. Cambr. MS. 153) part of a Christmas Mass which reveals the innovating minimizer in a careless mood. The 'Collectio post secreta' ends ' . . . in his

He was not concerned to minimize the realism of the eucharistic change in itself. That was not the question that was troubling his generation. But he favoured a narrow, verbal, and scholastic view of the moment or mode of consecration which was gaining ground locally, and penetrating the churches of the non-Roman rite. It spread, supplanting the more balanced and mystical conception of the mystery which they shared with the Churches of the East. He found that old view inconsistent with the view which the theologians were now pushing, aided by the text of the Roman Canon misconceived, viz. the view that after the Dominical Words had been said the consecration was complete, and nothing could be added to it. So the Gallican language was to be minimized. His trouble, in short, was dogmatic and not liturgical, and followed Western particularization rather than ecumenical authority.

Dogmatic considerations must necessarily come in and influence liturgical traditions and ancient rites, though their influence has not always or necessarily been for good.

Already in Chapter VII we have seen, in a good case, how the explication of the doctrine of the Trinity in the fourth century clarified the liturgical situation. It then became clear that the old confusion of thought which had prevailed in ante-Nicene theology between the Word (Logos) and the Holy Spirit must be done away. The prevalence of this confusion had shown itself liturgically in the existence side by side, or alternatively, of an invocation of the Logos as consecrator, rather than an invocation of the Holy Spirit. Similarly, in the unclarified theology of those days an elemental invocation of the 'Name' had been another alternative possibility. Both these forms of invoking God at the eucharistic sacrifice were bound to disappear as trinitarian theology became plainer, and as it was formulated at the Councils of Nicaea and Constantinople.

benedictio a te copiosa descendat: ut per mysterium tuae operationis fiat nobis eucharistia legitima et verus sanguis in nomine P. et F. et S.S., &c. He has extruded the action of the Holy Spirit, and substituted 'legitima eucharistia' for 'panis'; but he has left the tell-tale words 'et verus sanguis' standing.

Pari passu, the structure of the Anaphora was bound to become itself trinitarian: the work of the Holy Spirit was bound to claim recognition there. Hence we have observed in Hipp. the triple form adopted there; and its clause speaking, in a rudimentary form, of the Holy Spirit's co-operation in the eucharistic sacrifice. We have observed also the development of such clauses till they became explicitly and professedly consecratory, in that the mode of the eucharistic transformation is therein roundly stated to be by the operation of the Holy Spirit.

This development is general outside Rome, and clear. But in the Roman Rite the position is obscure, apart from Hipp., which itself holds an uncertain position there. If, as some suppose, the clause about the Holy Spirit is no original part of that Anaphora, but a later addition, the question arises whether ever, and, if so, when, did Rome come into line with the trinitarian development in the threefold structure of the Anaphora; and in giving recognition to the operation of the Holy Spirit? If, on the other hand, it was in the third century already an integral part of that Roman Anaphora, when did it cease to be so—leaving Rome, in both respects, out of line with the rest of the Christian world? And, if that was so, what was the motive power which produced such a surprising result?

As to threefold structure, the examination of the scanty information available about the formation of the Latin Canon shows nothing to suggest that it ever was compiled in a threefold form, or ever has been trinitarian like the other liturgies, including Hipp.

As to the recognition within the Anaphora of the operation of the Holy Spirit, the question admits of three possible alternative answers, all of which have been advocated.

1. The Latin Canon never had an 'invocation', or any such express recognition of the operation of the Holy Spirit.
2. It had some such prayer; but got rid of it.
3. It has still a recognizable equivalent for the invocation of the Holy Spirit.

Opinions are divided as to which is the right answer. As to the first it would seem strange if, when that recognition was becoming general, any great Church should ignore it. Besides, there is the evidence to be drawn from the two passages of Gelasius which must be taken into account—for whatever it is worth, for it is not very explicit; nor does it fit easily into any attempt to recapture the history of the compilation of the Canon (p. 148).

This leads to the second answer. Had, then, the Roman Church, at any rate for its Greek services, a prayer in the Anaphora for the advent of the Holy Spirit upon the Sacrifice, whether general in its terms or explicitly consecratory? and did it give it up, or minimize?

We have noted in the late days of the non-Roman rites a tendency to take this line: so it is not inconceivable that in the Roman Latin rite a similar modification, minimizing, or banishing had taken place some three or four centuries earlier, and more completely.

Such a view is much less difficult than the former one to fit in with the obscurities and rival theories as to the history of the Canon. And it leads direct into the third answer.

Yes. There are two clauses in the Canon which are pointed out as possible equivalents of the 'invocation'. Some point to the 'Quam oblationem', § VII, before the Recital with Dominical Words: and others to the 'Supplices te . . . Iube haec perferri', after it. Without arguing or even discussing this divergence of opinion,¹ it may be legitimate to suggest the possibility that each of these clauses as we have them represents the result of a transposition,² banishing, or modifying or minimizing of an invocation which it was thought undesirable to retain.

¹ It may be followed up in *D.A.C.L.* See also Bishop's Appendix to Connolly's *Homilies of Narsai*, 150-4.

² Both 'Hanc igitur oblationem' (vi), and its continuation 'Quam oblationem' (vii) have their counterpart in the Gallican 'Post-Sanctus' (used for the Rogation-days in *M.G.* 342) (p. 150), not in a 'Post-mysterium'. The idea that it can be a transposed 'invocation' is therefore not convincing. But some attempt at transposition was quite possible and has certainly been made.

The device of setting the Invocation before the Recital was an obvious

But however that may be, it is of greater importance to find out and estimate what was the motive which could produce such results. Unquestionably it was the view maintained against the Greeks that consecration is effected already by the due recital of the Dominical Words; and that subsequently there is no place for anything more, any invocation or the like, which could be called consecratory.

For a long time events had been moving towards a divergence of this sort.

Early in the course of our inquiry we had to note the way in which the inchoate language of the first three centuries seemed to range itself into differences of expression with regard to the mode of eucharistic change. With Tertullian it is in connexion with the Dominical Words; with Justin and Origen it depends upon the prayer in general; and with Irenaeus the prayer is specifically an invocation of God, or of the Word of God. Or again, there is the divergence which appeared in regard to St. Cyprian and Firmilian (p. 40).

Many differences underlay this divergence¹—language, that was obvious: the differing views of the relation of time to eternity, and correspondingly the focusing of attention on the altar and the celebrant or else in the heavens and on the High Priest. It emerged irrepressibly when the place was provided for an express recognition of the Third Person of the Trinity. Then, to balance the Recital of the Institution in the Preamble to the Act of Sacrifice, as being the authority for what was to follow, there arose correspondingly the appeal for the intervention of the Holy Spirit to implement the Sacrifice done, and prepare the participants to partake.

one: it had been tried in the Alexandrine Rite apparently, but the explanation is not clear there (p. 84). It was also the expedient adopted by the English form of the Canon in 1549; its invocation is like a 'Quam oblationem' clause which has had a banished invocation of the Holy Spirit restored to it. This expedient was taken up again (after its disappearance in 1552) into the Scottish Book of 1637; and there it remained until, in 1755, the Invocation was set in its trinitarian position after the Anamnesis. There it has come back to rest.

¹ Note the connexion of this with the difference recorded on pp. 176, 177 between Florus and Paschasius.

When the divergence first became undisguisable the theologians began by maintaining such a balance. The Recital (they held) is essential, for it is the authority for what is going to be done and the guarantee of what is given and received. Equally the intervention of the Holy Spirit is essential for the accomplishment of the mystery. Sometimes the emphasis of the writer or preacher may rest upon one side, or upon the other: but no conflict is involved, no controversy arises.

The movement of thought in the West seems to have laid stress on having a biblical text which it could quote as authoritative and even operative. This was natural enough: the same desire for a biblical text, or Dominical Words, showed itself elsewhere, e.g. in St. Austin's view of baptism,¹ and by the introduction of Mt. xxviii. 19 as a subsequent addition into the baptismal rites.² Or again by the introduction of biblical quotations into the Ordination rites of the Reformers in the sixteenth century. The African mind inclined that way. So St. Austin, following St. Ambrose in his view, wisely furnished himself with a set of epigrams which he could easily instil into his children, and for which he could quote evangelical words. Then these epigrammatical statements were taken up and broadcast, while his counterbalancing statement as to the Holy Spirit's work in consecration passed comparatively unnoticed, and had no lasting influence.

Similar among the Easterns is the position of St. Chrysostom—a balanced one; but with this exception. The Eastern Church counts him among the stalwarts in favour of the consecratory invocation; but there were statements of his which, carefully selected, could be quoted on the other side at the Council of Florence to represent him before the West as a supporter of the Verbal view.

A discussion between him and St. Ambrose (or St. Austin), if only we had one, would clear up much: but it would probably

¹ 'Verba evangelica, sine quibus non potest baptismus consecrari.' St. Austin, *De baptismo contra Don.* vi. xxv. 47 (*C.S.E.L.* li, p. 323). Cp. III. x. 15. (*P.L.* xliii. 214 and 144.)

² Scheidt, H., *Taufwasserweihegebete*, 60-40 (Münster, 1935).

result in a surprising unanimity. And if we could have staged, four hundred years later, another discussion between an early Carolingian divine and St. John of Damascus, the result would probably have been the same.

This peaceful agreement to differ on this point lasted long in the relations between East and West. The petty controversy about the Bread (Azyms) was hot and interminable. But the genuine and important difference of emphasis as regards consecration was not magnified into a quarrel till the Greeks with Cabasilas sharpened it (p. 184). Meanwhile writers expressed their views but (especially in Gallican areas) in balanced statements, and uncontroversially. But theology and liturgy were bound to come to terms of some sort. On the liturgical side of the matter, whatever might be the obscurities, it may probably be safely assumed that the Canon which Vigilius sent to Braga in 538 was in the main the Canon of to-day, apart from two things: (i) the alterations made by St. Gregory († 604) concerning which we have first-class information; and (ii) the addition of the Memento of the Dead (p. 155). The Canon itself was a most powerful factor in the propaganda, and won its way.

But as to the other partner in the alliance, the view of the theologians concerning consecration, it is difficult to point to the formulation of any patristic Latin tradition on the subject, or any explanation of the divergent views which had contributed to that tradition.

Indeed, St. Austin, with St. Ambrose behind him, seems to have had a hypnotic effect on the theology. From the seventh century down to the outbreak of the earlier eucharistic controversy, begun by Paschasius Radbert in 844, there is a curious interval of silence or reticence. And when he broke it, SS. Ambrose and Austin held the field. The points then at issue were mainly two: (i) the identity of the Eucharistic Body with the Earthly Body, and (ii) realism as against symbolism with regard to the effect of consecration. As to the mode (or moment) of consecration there was nothing in dispute.

In the interval, curiously enough, it is easier to find advocates of the balanced Spirit-view than of the one-sided Words-view. In Spain this is only to be expected. Isidore († 636) stoutly maintains the view which accords with the Spanish Rite,¹ while agreeing that the Dominical Words are necessary.²

In the Frankish empire, in spite of the growing desire for conformity with Rome, there was some resolute insistence upon the work of the Holy Spirit.

An early *Expositio Missae Romanae*,³ written probably in the seventh or eighth century for those who had been accustomed to the Gallican Rite, shows in several points an interesting stage in the transition.

The title itself suggests that this is a situation of change. In dealing with the Preface the expositor speaks of it as 'commonly called *Contestata*'—the Gallican term. The prayer for Consecrating the Host begins in a great prevailing silence after the 'Sanctus'. In the middle of § VI, 'Hanc igitur', comes the prayer for the intervention of the angel, § XII, 'iube haec perferri per manus sancti angeli in sublime altare': and it is followed by the other clauses of § VI 'diesque nostros', &c., introduced by St. Gregory: all, of course, preceding the Recital. This is surprising. Then after a brief reference to the Recital the expositor's next citation from the Canon is at § XVI, 'Praeceptis salutaribus'. Such reticence as to §§ VIII, ix is easily intelligible. But, strangely, there is no reference to § VII, 'Quam oblationem', nor to §§ X, XI, 'Unde et memores'. § XII is only partly cited, as above mentioned; §§ XIII–XV are unnoticed. These surprising omissions may be due to nothing but a gap in the manuscript; especially as the comment on the Lord's Prayer and its accompaniments, §§ XVI and XVII, is very ample. But the possibility

¹ 'Haec autem, dum sunt visibilia, sanctificata tamen per Spiritum sanctum in sacramentum divini corporis transeunt.' (*De eccl. officiis*, I. xviii. 4, P.L. lxxxiii. 755).

² See above, pp. 100–3. The stout resistance of the Spaniards is notorious, and it continued later than the epoch of the Frankish surrender, in fact till the close of the eleventh century. See Prado, *Historia*, 68–70.

³ Reprinted from Martène, *De ant. eccl. ritibus* in P.L. xcvi. 1481–1502.

is suggested by this treatise that it represents an adoption of the Canon which was only partial, and even eclectic.

There are various other signs of Gallican provenance, and relatively early origin. It is assumed that there will be communicants, clergy and laity, and that during their communion the *Agnus dei* will be sung: also that the catechumens will have been dismissed by the deacon before the Sacrifice begins with *Si quis remansit catechumenus, exeat foras*.

The devotional stress is on the Sacrifice; on the Work of the Holy Spirit as operative; and on the heavenly places, as the scene of the action.¹

Later, Bishop Theodulf, at Orleans († 821), proclaims this insistence on the Holy Spirit's work,² though his contemporaries were increasingly dropping it. There are several interesting anonymous or corporate witnesses to the decline, and signs of a tendency to revert to the old indeterminate language which preceded the existing controversy. A collection of Frankish bishops in 858, writing officially from the synod at Quierzy to the Emperor Louis, says incidentally that consecration is 'through (the) prayer and sign of the cross'.³

The Carolingian *Confessio Fidei Albini* ascribed (probably wrongly) to Alcuin († c. 804) maintains the balanced view, while a wish to insist on the priesthood of Christ, as often is the case, inclines him strongly to the verbal theory:

'By the power and words of Christ that bread and cup from the

¹ Quoting St. Gregory (*Dial.* iv. 58, *P.L.* lxxvii. 425), he says: 'Quis enim fidelium habere dubium possit, ipsa immolationis hora, ad sacerdotis vocem caelos aperiri, in illo Iesu Christi mysterio angelorum chorus adesse, summis ima sociari, terram caelestibus iungi, unum quid ex visibilibus atque invisibilibus fieri. . . . Spiritus Sanctus mystice illa (sacramenta) vivificat. . . . Quam consecrationem corporis et sanguinis dominici ideo semper in silentio arbitror celebrari, quia Sanctus in eis manens Spiritus eundem sacramentorum latenter operatur effectum.' (*Ibid.* col. 1496.)

² 'Ut per visibilem sacerdotum oblationem, et invisibilem S. Spiritus consecrationem, panis et vinum in corporis et sanguinis domini transeant dignitatem.' *De ordine baptismi*, xviii (*P.L.* cv. 240).

³ Manus enim chrismate sancto peruncta de pane et vino aqua misto per orationem et crucis signum conficit corpus et Christi sanguinis sacramentum.' *Ad Ludovicum Ep.* c. xv. (*P.L.* cxxvi. 23.)

first was consecrated; by the power and words of Christ it is always consecrated and will be consecrated. He in his priests speaks daily. It is His word (*sermo*) which sanctifies the heavenly sacraments. The priests perform the office, but Christ by the majesty of the divine power acts. He is the true Melchizedek. . . . He by that virtue of the Comforter Spirit and by the heavenly blessing makes the holy Body and Blood to be His own.¹

The same line was taken, but more strongly, by that great scholar, Florus, the learned deacon of Lyons, in his book on the Canon (c. 834).² In him conservative Lyons does not readily give up the old balanced view of consecration, and the deacon relies on the patristic teaching. It is a systematic exposition of the Canon clause by clause, exhibiting some variation of text, with some language which was more familiar in Gaul than in Rome.

Florus says³ on 'Quam oblationem' (§ VII preceding the Recital) that Christ effects His Holy Body and Blood by the power of the Spirit the Paraclete, and a heavenly benediction. His comment is an interesting example of Gallican exposition applied to the Roman Canon. It is sad that so balanced a statement as this should have proved to be, for the time at least, the cry of a lost cause.

This exposition of Florus was almost the last echo of the Western Invocation, surviving at Lyons in mid-ninth century

¹ 'Ipse ex Spiritus paracleti virtute et caelesti benedictione sanctum corpus et sanguinem suum esse perficit.' *Confessio Fidei*, iv. 2. (P.L. ci. 1087.) See, however, the quotation below at p. 191.

² *De Expositione Missae* in P.L. cxix. 15-72.

³ § 59 on 'Quam oblationem'. 'Oratur omnipotens ut oblationem . . . ipse per virtutem descendens ita legitimam et perfectam eucharistiam efficiat, ut in omnibus sit ascripta, . . . sit rata . . . sit quoque, eiusdem Spiritus Sancti operante virtute, rationabilis, et per haec omnia singulariter deo grata et acceptabilis; ut . . . diuinae benedictionis ineffabili potentia efficiatur corpus et sanguis unigeniti Filii dei sicut Ipse testatur' (citing Jo. vi. 56). And again, 'Novus non nascitur cum panis et vini creatura in sacramentum carnis et sanguinis eius ineffabili Spiritus sanctificatione transfertur.'

§ 60 on 'Qui pridie'. 'In his verbis, sine quibus nulla lingua, nulla regio, nulla civitas, id est nulla pars ecclesiae catholicae conficere potest, id est consecrare sacramentum corporis et sanguinis domini, ipse dominus tradidit. . . . Christi ergo virtute et verbis semper consecratur et consecrabitur. Illius sermo est qui caelestia sacramenta sanctificat. . . . Ipse ex Spiritus paracleti virtute, &c.', as in note 1 above. (Florus, *Expos. Missae*, § 59, P.L. cxix. 51.)

as a relic of the Gallican view of consecration. By this time the Roman Canon was in possession throughout the West, except in Spain: and it was regarded as the primitive liturgy which, augmented and altered, went back to St. Peter. Thus that Canon thenceforward dictated the theology and imposed the Word-view of consecration.

The later commentators on the Canon¹ started with this assumption; and busied themselves more with practical or allegorical than with theological exposition.

Traces of Florus' connexion of 'Quam oblationem' with the work of the Holy Spirit were carried on by copyists, Sicardus, *Mitrale* (P.L. ccxiii. iii. 6) and Durandus, *Rationale* (iv. xl. 10); but by then they were dead voices. Living ones were dying out.²

Paschasius differs in some ways that deserve notice; when he speaks of consecration, it is as being effected 'in verbo Creatoris et virtute Spiritus sancti'; or again 'virtute S.S. per verbum Christi'. He connects it thus with *Iube haec perferri*, that is with § XII of the Canon, succeeding the Recital.³

In Carolingian times the question became more disputed.⁴

¹ A. Franz, in his *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter* (Freiburg, 1902), gives in his Second Part a very full account of them. Cf. D.A.C.L. v. 1014 & ff.

² But even from Rome itself comes occasional recognition of the Holy Spirit as consecrator. Pope Nicholas, writing to the Emperor Michael in 860, defines thus: 'Quando ipse (panis) sacramento sacratu fuerit, Corpus Christi in veritate fit'; and of the wine, 'post sanctificationem Spiritus sanguis Christi efficitur'. (P.L. cxix. 778.)

³ *De corpore*, xii. in P.L. cxx. 1310, 1312. See also Gratian, *Decr. De cons.* ii. 72. 'Ipse est qui per spiritum sanctum hanc suam efficit carnem et transit vinum in sanguinem . . . Unde sacerdos *Iube inquit haec perferri*, &c.' See further in Atchley, pp. 186, 187.

⁴ As evidences of this the following quotations may serve our purpose. There are more given in Atchley, pp. 184-7. The crude scholastic assertion is made by Agobard against Amalarius, § xiii: 'Ecclesia ex traditione apostolorum his verbis consecrans mysterium.' (P.L. civ. 347.)

On the other side the Gallican tradition is not yet silenced, as may be seen from the *Disputatio puerorum* (a Carolingian Catechism), c. x (P.L. ci. 1134): 'Fit sacramentum operante invisibiliter Spiritu dei.' In its general line it follows St. Isidore (p. 100), and also in dividing the Anaphora into seven prayers. The fifth is the Preface, and the sixth the '*Te igitur*, quae est confirmatio sacramenti ut oblatio sanctificata per Spiritum Sanctum [in] corpus et sanguinem conformetur'.

The Caroline Books say, 'per manum sacerdotis et invocationem divini nominis' (*Libr. Car.* ii. 27, P.L. xcvi. 1093).

Sharp eyes were kept awake to see and guard against anything that might seem to throw doubt on the completeness of the Act of Consecration by the Words of the Recital. The Canon itself indeed spoke of the gifts as *panem sanctum* and *calicem salutis* even after the Recital was over (§ x, in the middle of the Anamnesis that followed). From the standpoint of the Word-view of consecration that was unfortunate. The phrases could not be avoided or abolished, but they must not be made prominent—so judged the Roman upholders of the Word-view, and more definitely asserted it against the Gallicans whose view was wider and less tied to moments. There survives, indeed, a further interesting monument of such a rivalry.¹

It has seemed worth while to follow up in some degree the expiring protests of the liturgists that the Holy Spirit could not be ignored, and that their liturgy could not, without some mishandling, be made out to support the theory of the theo-

¹ Two expositions of the Mass, which are of Carolingian origin, stand side by side in Gerbert's *Monumenta*; that printed first (ii. 269-76a) was written second, to point out the faults of the other (ibid. 276b-82b). The earlier expositor had commented upon the *panem* and *calicem* passage, in § x (following the Dominical Words), thus (p. 280a): '*hostiam sanctam, quia tu sanctificasti corpus tuum quando hominem in Deum adsumpsisti: et nunc sanctifica hunc panem ut corpus tuum fiat. Hostiam immaculatam quia . . . Panem sanctum vitae eterne, quia tu panis vivus es . . . et corpus tuum in hoc pane a te sanctificato nos accipere voluisti, et per Calicem passionis tuae nos sanguinem tuum sumere voluisti.*' And to emphasize his point he repeats 'Tu sanctifica &c.

The censor is shocked by the expositor's words, and quoting them, 'Tu sanctifica hanc hostiam ut nobis corpus tuum et sanguis tuus fiat', he writes (p. 274a): 'Scribit, ubi mentionem facit de *hostia pura et sancta et immaculata*, "Et nunc sanctifica hunc panem ut corpus tuum fiat".' Outraged by this twice-repeated prayer in such a position, he comments thus: 'Hoc nos totum anticipamus in eadem oratione, in eo loco ubi dicit (§ vii) *Acceptabilemque facere digneris, ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii tui*. Et ubi ipsius verba domini dicantur (§ viii). *Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes; Hoc est corpus meum*, ibi credimus de simplici pane fieri corpus Domini. Et ubi dicitur (§ ix) *Hic est calix sanguinis mei*, ibi de simplici vino et aqua sanguinem Domini.' And he adds indignantly 'Praecipue, in commemorato loco, non dicatur "*ut fiat*": sed "*panem sanctum vitae eterne*", dicitur, et reliqua.'

He further reinforces his statement by referring to the use a little later of the words *corpus et sanguinem* as showing not what is 'becoming' but what 'is'.

Cp. *P.L.* cxlvii. 191; and *D.A.C.L.* v. 1019.

logians. Meanwhile the Roman movement was gathering force. Its mainspring was apparently (on the good side) the wish to concentrate all attention on the work and person of the Lord Himself; and (on the bad side) to banish the Holy Spirit from the new Latin Canon, which had been taken up warmly in Milan, &c., as well as in Rome, and was increasingly becoming the advocate of the Word-view.

The theologians would not find so much difficulty in reconciling the two views about the form or means of consecration—the Word-view and the Spirit-view—as did the worshippers. This is perhaps natural. Indeed, not unfrequently in the history of liturgical development the instinct of the worshipper has triumphed over the wisdom of the wise—for good or for evil. The theologians, at least up to the Carolingian times, had declined to join in a quarrel on the subject: but the people took readily to the cruder explanations and novel deteriorating customs.

In the East, where the Spirit-view was prevalent, St. John of Damascus, in his most authoritative of works (p. 92), had explained that the Words of the Lord are necessary, but the consecration is completed by the epiclesis. So he stabilized the balance, and stemmed, for the East, the tide of decadence. It was, no doubt, more difficult to maintain an even balance in the enlarging area with which Rome had to deal, and where the Roman Rite and its convenient Canon were making their way.

Into the intricacies of the varying statements concerning either of these views, either in the liturgies or in the theologians, this is not the time or place to enter further. We are concerned with structure and form, for the most part.

But in order to understand the movement that upset the balance and ultimately brought about the formation and dissemination of the Canon, it is desirable to note that it is not an isolated phenomenon, but forms part of a far larger whole, affecting also the ceremonial, music, architecture, &c., as well as the theology.

The worshipper, as his concentration of mind and soul was drawn away from the Offering of the central sacrifice, ceased to give his attention not only to that, but also to the solemn preparation for it, which took place at the Offertory. He ceased himself to be an Offerer; and the whole Offertory, shorn of its solemnities and of the greater part of its music, became of very small account. His attention was diverted to the time of 'consecration'; instead of taking his part in a sacrifice he watched a miracle which was increasingly said to be brought about by the word or words, not (as had been first taught) those spoken by our Lord at the Institution originally, but those as recited by the celebrant on each occasion. As he also ceased to partake himself regularly of the Sacrifice he came dangerously near to being little more than an onlooker, or 'Gazer' as the Reformers called him.

But he wanted to see, indeed he demanded to be assured precisely not only when, and where, but, in due course, inevitably, how it was all being brought about. So the old prevailing sense of mystery was sacrificed to an illusive clearness. The ceremonial action was laid bare, the architecture had to follow suit, and the fittings of the Church likewise. The curtains came down which veiled the mysteries, the altar was moved, the seating of bishop, clergy, and choir was altered; inevitably in due course came in the Elevation, not as a gesture of reverence to God, but as a demonstration to the worshippers, the bell-ringing and the presenting of arms inside the church, and the bell-ringing, rockets, &c., outside.

Equally unfortunate was the effect on persons. The Mass-priest became dominant. Now, so long as he had a serving boy, he could dispense with deacon and other ministers: he could supersede the congregation also. With the disappearance of the sense of sacrifice there disappeared also not only the layman's communion but also the sense of his lay-priesthood. The ideal layman was the boy who would serve the priest's Mass. Drill superseded worship and the Mass was commercialized. The hour of Low Mass arrived: and the hour of revulsion drew on.

XVII

CONTROVERSY

AS the old 'Gallican' liturgies surrendered, they adopted first the Canon, fitting it into their own old service-books; then they adopted the Roman books in place of their own, for uniformity's sake, and comforted by the great advantages which the admirable Roman Chant brought with it in respect of music. Spain held out against the unification longest; but at last it, too, surrendered.¹

So the time came when only the Eastern rites survived to tell of the glories and ancient ideals that had been; and it was possible to aggravate a difference of opinion, between the Words-view and the Invocation-view of Consecration, into a first-class grievance in the quarrel between East and West.

For while these changes were continually going on in the West, the East remained firm in the great tradition, emphasizing the centrality of the Sacrifice, as well as the reality of the Eucharistic transformation; and, in regard to the mode of consecration, laying stress on the Invocation of the Holy Spirit as fulfilling the work of Christ the consecrator. This is shown not only by the stability of the liturgies but also by the writings of the theologians.² Some brief consideration of the topic as it figured among the points of the Great Schism is therefore desirable: more especially as it bulked very much smaller than is usually supposed to have been the case.

The various stages of the Great Schism³ had run a long part of their course before the Eucharistic matter came forward at

¹ See Prado, *Historia del rito*, pt. 1, chap. v, for the late history of the Mozarabic Rite.

² See for this in detail chapter iv of Stone, especially pp. 149, 151 Nicephorus, 157 Theophylact, 159 Euthymius, 165 Nicholas of Methone, 166 Germanus, 167 Cabasilas, 171 Symeon of Thessalonica.

³ For a useful summary of all the quarrelling, from Photius to the Council of Florence, see Palmieri, *Theologia dogmatica orthodoxa*, Prolegomena, vol. ii, pp. 1-101 (Florence, 1913), and documents in C. J. C. Will, *Acta et Scripta* (1861).

all as a main point of dispute. From the time of Photius, in the ninth century (857-86), onward there had been both bickerings and (at intervals) more or less formal quarrels, together with periodical attempts to make them up. The major matters were always there: on the Latin side the papal claims, against the rival ambitions of Constantinople; and on the Greco-Russian side the 'Filioque' inserted into the Creed. Behind both were antipathies of race, culture, and ideals—to say nothing of the personalities, rivalries, and the scandals that accompanied the successive outbreaks. An interval of one hundred and sixty-two years followed the pacification made by Pope Formosus (892) in the matter of Patriarch Photius, before the definite breach was made under Michael Cerularius in 1054.

The course¹ of both the quarrels and the bickerings exhibits little that belongs explicitly to the disputed question as to the mode of Eucharistic consecration. There is a great deal in them which shows the irritation that is being felt on both sides as to minor differences of rite and custom; and a great deal is made of the matter of azymes *versus* leavened bread. Indeed, this quarrel assumed an importance which is far beyond its deserts, unless it is taken to symbolize the dissatisfaction evoked in general by differences of language and rite.

The soberest account of the Eastern complaints is that of the distinguished scholar and writer Theophylact, the Bulgarian archbishop († 1107). He ridicules many of them,² dismisses others,³ and, while considering the 'Filioque' serious and culpable, he treats the matter generously. Here, if anywhere, one might expect to find a grievance made about the consecration: but there is no sign of this. The catalogue of things great and small to which exception is taken contains no words of quarrel on this subject.

But later on the Greeks, in view of the Latin pressure of

¹ This is well set out in B. Leib, *Rome, Kiev, et Byzance* (1088-99), chap. 11 (Paris, 1924). Many of the chief documents are found more easily in Migne, *P.G.* cxix, cxx.

² Ibid. cxxvi. 223-50, *Περὶ ὧν ἐγκαλοῦνται Λατίνοι*.

³ Palmieri, l.c. 58.

various kinds, became more pugnacious, or at least more assertive. At the beginning of the twelfth century Euthymius Zigabenus wrote, at the request of the Emperor Alexander Comnenus, a defence of the Orthodox faith against all opponents—called the *Dogmatic Panoply*. In dealing with the Eucharist, after a recital of the Institution of an extended kind, he insists upon the co-operation of the Holy Spirit in a supernatural way, and says that the eucharistic change is due to His coming.¹

Again in Nicholas of Methone (1157) we have the same statement, which by this time has become universal throughout the Eastern Churches.² Negotiations between East and West continued at intervals, and in 1098 the Council of Bari made a useful truce for south Italy, but without touching upon this question. In this work St. Anselm played a conspicuous part in regard to the controversy over 'filioque', and took a common-sense view about azymes, &c.:³ but no question arises as yet about the consecration. However, when at the beginning of the thirteenth century the new Crusade was diverted into an attack upon Eastern Christendom and Constantinople, all the antipathies were raised to a higher power: and the divergence of rite began to assume a new importance. After the recapture of Constantinople in 1261 pacific overtures were made for the healing of the wounds: and in the summer of 1274 the Second Council of Lyons accomplished an Act of Union.⁴ But it speedily broke down. Liturgical matters, however, were not to blame for the failure. On the contrary, it was taken for granted that, apart from azymes, there existed no irreconcilable difference in the liturgical usages.

In practice, however, the bickerings went on and grew, while Greeks and Latins alike resented and complained of the divergences. These were made all the more marked as time went

¹ P.G. cxxx. 1258, ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐνέργεια τὰ ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἐργάζεται . . . πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπιφοιτᾷ καὶ τὰτα ποιεῖ τὰ ὑπὲρ λόγον καὶ ἔννοιαν.

² His citation of the Anaphora contains the following: καὶ καταπέμψοις τὸ ἅγιόν σου πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην, τὸν μάρτυρα τῶν παθημάτων τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, ὅπως ἀποφύνοι, κτλ. (Ibid. cxxxv. 516.)

³ Anselm to Waleram, P.L. clviii. 541-54.

⁴ H.-L. vi. i; Harduin vii. 687.

on and the ceremonial and setting of the Latin Rite moved farther away from the old traditions and emphasized more aggressively the Latin view of the mode or moment of consecration. As the rivalry deepened, the Greeks were fortunate in finding a good champion.

From Nicolas Cabasilas we have a really full exposition of the course and meaning and effect of the Eucharist. He was an exceptionally good theologian, for a short time (1361-3) Archbishop of Thessalonica. At Chapter 27 of his *Exposition of the Liturgy* he reaches the point 'Concerning the sanctification of the Gifts and the Thanksgiving preceding it'. In answer to the question 'How the sacrifice is completed', he says:

'When the priest has explained that dread Supper, and how He gave Himself before his passion to His holy disciples; and how He received a cup, and how He took bread, and consecrated the Eucharist; and how He spake revealing the mystery, even pronouncing the very words: then he (the priest) falls down and prays and pleads [before God] those divine utterances of His only-begotten Son and our Saviour, applying them also to the gifts offered, that they, receiving His all-holy and almighty Spirit, may be changed, the bread into His precious and holy Body, and the wine into His pure & holy Blood.¹

'Now when these things have been said, the whole of the sacerdotal rite (*ιερουργία*) has been accomplished and ended the gifts consecrated, and the sacrifice completed: and the great Sacrifice and Victim (*θύμα καὶ ἱερεῖον*) which was slain for the world is seen lying upon the Holy Table.'

In the next chapter he explains how this can be believed. Christ said the Words and ordered the continual remembrance.

'He would not have ordered this unless he were intending to give them the power by which to do so. And what is the power? It

¹ *Exposition*, c. 27 (P.G. cl. 425). The text seems corrupt or defective, but the sense is clear. *Τὸ φρικτὸν ἐκεῖνο διηγησάμενος δείπνον, καὶ ὅπως . . . καὶ ὡς . . . καὶ ὡς ἔλαβεν ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ἡγίασε· καὶ ὡς εἶπε δι' ὧν ἐδήλωσε τὸ μυστήριον, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ῥήματα ἀνειπὼν· εἶτα προσπίπτει καὶ εὐχεται καὶ ἱκετεύει τὰς θείας ἐκείνας φωνὰς τοῦ μονογενοῦς Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σ. ἡμῶν ἐφαρμόσας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προκειμένων δώρων, καὶ δεξάμενα τὸ πανάγιον αὐτοῦ καὶ παντοδυνάμενον Πνεῦμα μεταβληθῆναι, τὸν μὲν ἄρτον . . . κτλ.*

is the Holy Spirit, the power from above that enabled the apostles . . . &c. . . . He through the hand and tongue of the priests accomplishes the mysteries.’¹

In the next chapter (29) Cabasilas replies to the contentions of the Latins, who say that after the Words of Christ in order to consecrate the gifts there is no need of any further prayer. Those therefore (they urge) who subsequently say a consecratory prayer over them as if they were not consecrated, are suffering from an unbelief as well as doing something superfluous.

His reply is that as the Creative Word (Gen. i) to which St. Chrysostom appealed was operative and perpetual, but requires to be implemented by human generation: so

‘in this case we believe that what gives the power to the mystery is the Lord’s Word; but as regards method, it is through the priest, through his supplication and prayer. . . . Therefore we credit the consecration of the mysteries to the prayer of the priest not as to something human, but as to a power of God wherein we trust’.²

He argues that this is the plan of all sacraments—Holy Oil, Holy Order, Absolution, and Unction: the universal tradition is that they are brought about by prayer. There is no such traditional authority for saying that the Word of the Lord spoken in narrative form suffices for the consecration of the gifts. But, as St. Chrysostom said, the Word once spoken by Him is a creative word and operative, which a priest’s word, as such, cannot be.³

In the next chapter Cabasilas argues thus that the Latins themselves do in fact what they blame the Greeks for doing.⁴

¹ *Exposition* c. 28, col. 428.

² *Ibid.*, c. 29, col. 429B and 432A.

³ Τὸ μὲν εὐχῇ τὰ μυστικά τελεῖν οἱ Πατέρες παρέδοσαν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνους ἐκδεξαμένων παραλαβόντες. Τὸν δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων λόγον, ἐν εἵδει διηγήσεως λεγόμενον, πρὸς τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τῶν δώρων ἄρκεῖν, οὐδεὶς, οὔτε τῶν ἀποστόλων, οὔτε τῶν διδασκάλων, εἰπὼν φαίνεται· ἀλλ’ ὅτι μὲν ἅπαξ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου λεχθεὶς, αὐτῷ τῷ ὑπ’ ἐκείνου λέγεσθαι, ὡς ὁ δημιουργικὸς λόγος αἰεὶ ἐνεργεῖ, καὶ ὁ μακάριος φῆσαι Ἰωάννης. *Ibid.* 433.

⁴ *Ibid.*, c. 30, col. 433–7. Some of the various Latin replies to this objection are collected by E. Bishop in his Appendix on what he calls ‘the Moment of Consecration’ to Connolly’s edition of Narsai (*Texts and Studies*, No. viii, p. 153).

In the 'Supplices te rogamus iube haec perferri' they add prayer after the Dominical Word, and pray for something further to happen to the gifts, not indeed for their transformation (*μεταβολή*), as we do, but that they should be carried up by an angel's hand to the heavenly altar. What change is it: one of locality? Hardly. One of dignity? They must, then, after all, be thinking of them as still bread and wine? Otherwise the view would be very impious. No, they are praying over them because they still need prayer, praying for their uplifting because they are still below, and for their uplifting to the altar as not yet being sacrificed (*τεθυμένα*), but to be placed thereupon to be sacrificed. . . . In fact this prayer, Cabasilas claims, is in its effect upon the gifts nothing else but the transformation of them into the Lord's Body and Blood.

In other words, he take the 'Supplices te' clause as corresponding to the Greek Invocation: thus he closes his handling of the Latins by saying (very truly) that there is no real disagreement, and that the objection raised to prayer for the gifts after the Words comes not really from the Latin Church but only from a few recent innovators.¹

So the moment drew near for some fresh attempt at mutual understanding: and by this time it was clear that the question of the mode of consecration would claim a place in the discussions.

At the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1437-9) the matter was not mentioned among those first to be considered, which were four: (1) The Papacy, (2) Purgatory, (3) *Filioque*, and (4) Azymes. The Greek delegates arrived (April 1438) under the pressure of the grave anxieties about security in the Eastern Empire, at least as zealous for a political understanding as for church union. The Patriarch of Constantinople (Joasaph) led the Eastern delegation, but he was very ill and died during the course of the Council.²

¹ Φανερόν τοίνυν ὅτι τὸ ἀτιμάζειν τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν δώρων εὐχὴν μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου λόγον οὐδὲ τῆς τῶν Λατίνων ἐκκλησίας ἐστὶν ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ' ἐνίων ὀλίγων καὶ νεωτέρων, οἱ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα αὐτὴν ἐλυμήναντο. (Cap. 30, P.G. col. 437.)

² See *H.-L.* vii. ii. 951-1051: *Hard.* xi. 951 for these Councils.

Under such unfavourable auspices the debates began (October 8). All was moved from Ferrara to Florence in January 1439. After some agreement had been reached about the 'Filioque' early in June, it was decided to go on to the remaining three points, adding, as a fourth, the Eucharistic consecration: which was taken first. The Greeks made brief statements on these points, bringing up to the Latins the dilemma which Cabasilas had put to them as to their own clause 'Supplices te' (p. 185). At this point the Patriarch died, and the Greek delegates, now without a patriarch to lead them, protested that only a synod could settle such matters; however, they would venture to draw up joint personal replies. On the Eucharist they said:¹ 'We confess that the mysteries are consecrated by the Dominical Words even though we ourselves subsequently make the invocation, "May it be the Body and Blood of Christ".'

The Emperor John VI Palaeologus was dissatisfied; and on calling the clergy together found them so also.² They decided to continue only with three points—the Azyms, the Papacy, and the 'Filioque', and to drop Purgatory and the Consecration. Some long negotiations with the cardinals ensued, and a conference over which the Pope (Eugenius IV) presided. The Greeks were in a hurry to leave the Council and so evade some issues; while the Latins were busy drafting terms of union, designed to cover the whole field of dispute. The parleyings continued and included a requisition that the Greeks should agree that consecration was by the Words *exclusively*. Fresh misgivings followed, and especially a duel between Torquemada and Isidore of Kiev about the consecration.³ A pause of two days, for St. John Baptist's festival, prevented an entire breakdown; and negotiations were resumed on June 26 by selected representatives of each side.

¹ Hard. ix. 408. Τὸ τῶν μυστηρίων ὁμολογοῦμεν ὅτι τελεῖονται διὰ τῶν κυριακῶν φωνῶν εἰ καὶ ὑστερον ἡμεῖς ἐπικαλούμεθα· Γενέσθω σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ.

² June 9. The four chief delegates of the Easterns were the archbishops Isidore of Kiev, Bessarion (designate) of Nicaea, Dorotheus of Mytilene, and Mark of Ephesus. The last declined to accede to the agreement about the 'Filioque', and remained in opposition to the end.

³ Ibid. 974-8.

It seems as if in the prevailing hurry there were no exact records kept:¹ but that it was conceded to omit the question of the Consecration from the Act of Union, as the Greeks took their stand upon St. Chrysostom, were said to have already shown themselves convinced that the Dominical Words were necessary and complete,² and had testified to their own holding clear realist views as to the Holy Sacrament.

The Latins, however, demanded that a verbal statement of this should be publicly made: and on July 5, 1439, the day after the signatures of agreement had been made and before the Act of Union was published, Bessarion, who had by now gone over wholly to the Latin side, made such a statement on behalf of the Greeks.

‘Since from all the holy Doctors, and especially from St. Chrysostom,³ we have heard that the Dominical Words are those which change and transubstantiate . . . and that those divine words of the Saviour have all the power of transubstantiation, we of necessity follow that Doctor and his judgement.’⁴

¹ The originals are not extant. Consequently our two chief authorities are the Greek history from day to day, written from the Acts by one of the representatives, probably Dorotheus of Mytilene (Hard. ix. 1-434), and a Latin account based on the records, in form of a dialogue, written by Andrew of St. Cross, a pontifical advocate in attendance at the Council. This, with a number of supplementary documents gathered by the Librarian of the Vatican, Giustiniani, was published by him in 1638 (ibid. 669-1080). Andrew often supplements Dorotheus, and *vice versa*; with differences of detail; but at the scramble of the last days they both are unsatisfactory.

² The Cardinal Cesarini in his closing report to the Pope represented the Greeks as saying: ‘Ad hoc, ut sitis certi de credulitate nostra, videatis Joannem Chrysostomum, qui hoc clare ponit: et sumus parati publice confiteri quod nos tenemus sicut vos, quod in verbis solis dominicis conficitur.’ (Ibid. 981.)

³ Citing merely Hom. 82 in Matth. and Hom. 2 in 2 Tim., and Hom. 60 to the people of Antioch. The two first are quoted above, p. 88 note and p. 89 note. The third is untraced. Hard. ix. 983. *H.-L.* vii. 1032.

⁴ The developed views of Bessarion after he became a Cardinal may be seen in his treatise *De Sacramento Eucharistiae, et quibus verbis Christi corpus conficiatur* (P.G. clxi. 493-526).

With them should be contrasted the stubborn defence of the Greek tradition maintained by Mark of Ephesus.

‘Ἡμεῖς ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν διαδεξαμένων αὐτοὺς διδασκάλων τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὴν τῆς μυστικῆς λειτουργίας ἐκθεσὶν παρειληφότες, παρ’ οὐδενὶ τούτων εὐρομεν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν δεσποτικῶν ῥημάτων καὶ μόνον ἀγιάζεσθαι καὶ τελειοῦσθαι

Yet it must be realized that all the time when the question was discussed at Florence, the arguments missed fire. The Latins wished to go beyond the original definition of Eugenius about consecration which was purely positive, asserting the consecratory power of the Dominical Words. This the Greeks did not deny; indeed they protested that it was their belief: and it was on that protestation that the Council decided to make no definition or stipulation on the subject. But the Latin view implied (as then understood) that after the crucial words there was nothing more needed, or even possible: while the Greeks were in fact clinging to the older view that it remained for the Holy Spirit to complete and implement the consecration accomplished, and apply it to the communicants.

The fate of the Greeks is epitomized in that of their leaders. The stalwart champion Mark of Ephesus stood immovable on the old ways. Bessarion, by an ingenious choice of passages, persuaded himself that St. Chrysostom could be taken to be a supporter of the Latin view: and in the scramble of the closing days he persuaded others too and brought them into the Act

τὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας δῶρον, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ δεσποτικὸν σῶμα καὶ αἷμα μεταποιεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ προλεγόμενα μὲν διηγηματικῶς τὰ ῥήματα παρὰ πᾶσι συμφώνως, ἡμᾶς τε ἀναφέροντας τὰ πρὸς τὴν μνήμην τοῦ τότε πραχθέντος, καὶ δύναμιν ὥσπερ ἐνιέντα τοῖς προκειμένοις εἰς τὴν μεταβολὴν ἐπιγινομένην δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν εὐχὴν τε καὶ εὐλογίαν, τοῦ ἱερέως ἐνεργεῖα μεταποιεῖν ἤδη τὰ δῶρα πρὸς αὐτὸ πρωτότυπον ἐκείνο, σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τὸ δεσποτικόν.

ταῦτα δὲ καὶ αἱ ἐκθέσεις αὐταὶ μαρτυροῦσι, σύμφωνοι παρ' ἡμῶν εὐρίσκόμεναι, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ ταύταις ἀποδοθήσεται (tota haec oratio in his consistit).

He then quotes A.C. as the Clementine liturgy (*L.E.W.* 20); next the liturgy of St. James of Jerusalem, the invocation (*ibid.* 52-4). St. Basil is credited with a shortened form of this; and also St. Chrysostom similarly (*ibid.* 404, 385).

He argues then:

Οὕτω μὲν ἅπαντες οὗτοι συμφώνως προλέγουσι μὲν τὰ δεσποτικά ῥήματα καὶ δι' αὐτῶν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν ἡμᾶς ἄγουσι τοῦ τότε πραχθέντος, καὶ τὴν ἀγιαστικὴν δύναμιν ἐνιάσι τελουμένοις ἐπεύχονται δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐπικαλοῦνται χάριν, ὥστε αὐτὴν ἐλθοῦσαν τὰ εἰρημένα τότε τοῖς νῦν ἐφαρμόσαι, καὶ τὰ προκείμενα τελειῶσαι, καὶ πρὸς τὸ δεσποτικὸν σῶμα καὶ αἷμα μεταποιῆσαι.

The elements up till then are, as St. Basil said, antitypes (ἀντίτυπα), because the consecration is not wholly completed till the prayer which follows for the coming of the Holy Spirit.

This he reinforces with the quotation from St. Chrysostom, *On the priesthood*: Ἐστηκεν ὁ ἱερεὺς, οὐ πῦρ καταφέρων, κτλ. (p. 89).

Mark of Ephesus in *P.G.* clx. 1079-90.

of Union. But all did not fit themselves so easily as did Besarion into the Latin mould. Gennadius, patriarch of Constantinople, who as a layman named George Scholarius had been an ardent supporter of the Union of Florence in 1439, recanted and rallied to the side of Mark of Ephesus, though considerably influenced by the Scholasticism which he had encountered at Florence on the subject of the Eucharist.¹

In mitigation of the rigidity of the Latins at the Council two things must be borne in mind. First, that they had not available the larger amount of rather subversive new knowledge about their liturgical history which has come to be common knowledge now among all liturgists. They mostly cherished the untenable view that the Canon was an apostolic prayer handed down from St. Peter himself: to this and the current interpretation of it, they naturally felt bound to hold fast. Secondly, that a very different and much more generous spirit now prevails in dealing with Eastern Rites.

As representative of the Latin side, and chief advocate in the discussion, Cardinal Torquemada gave the reasons for the inclusion of the Latin explanation of consecration in the Act of Union and pleaded especially that it was necessary for the simple folk.² In saying this he really summed up the whole history of the diffusion of the Roman and Scholastic view of the 'form' of consecration.

So it stands, to the edification of the simple, and the growing perplexity of the learned and thoughtful.

The declaration as to the mode of consecration which was kept out from the Union of Florence soon found another opportunity for making its appearance. Negotiations for reunion had been going forward with the Armenians since 1434, and their envoys arrived at Florence as the Greeks departed. The pro-

¹ See his writings in *P.G.* clx.

² 'Tertia est utilitas, quae est eruditio omnium fidelium et maxime simplicium sacerdotum utriusque ecclesiae: ut omnes sciant quod hoc adorandum verbis Salvatoris conficiatur.' (Hard. ix. 976.)

ceedings were brief, and the agreement included this statement (made in the Bull of Nov. 22, 1439) that 'the form of the Sacrament in the Eucharist is the Words of the Saviour, by which He accomplished this Sacrament: for the priest speaking in the person of Christ accomplishes this sacrament.'¹ A further statement recites the crucial words in Latin: first, 'Hoc est enim corpus meum'; and, second, all the sentence of 27 words in the Canon from 'Hic est enim calix' to 'in remissionem peccatorum'.²

A definite pronouncement such as this had been slow in maturing.

Looking back from the Council of Florence, this difference in the way of explaining the mode of consecration is seen extending over a number of centuries, the Roman way slowly gaining ground all over the West, the other way remaining steady throughout the East, but decaying progressively in the West as the non-Roman rites gave way before the Roman.

The steadiness in the East has already been shown, and there is nothing to add to it except that it is supported by the fresh light which in recent years has poured in upon the liturgical area, while the Roman and medieval way has lost credit. Something has been said of the 'Gallican' decay. But it remains to give a few examples to illustrate further the progressive formulation of the Roman view from Carolingian times onward as conceived and urged upon the Greeks, and finally imposed on the Armenians at Florence.

A good example of the Carolingian form of statement may be taken from the pseudo-Alcuin tract *De officiis divinis*. Commenting on 'Qui pridie' the writer says that Christ used the Words, the Apostles followed suit, and therefore they are essential.³ But

¹ Denzinger and Bannwart, *Encheiridion*, edition of Freiburg, 1922, no. 698, p. 240.

² Ibid., No. 715, p. 249.

³ 'Ipse dominus apostolis, et apostoli generaliter omni ecclesiae tradiderunt in his verbis, sine quibus nulla lingua, nulla regio, nulla civitas, id est, nulla pars ecclesiae potest consecrare hoc sacramentum (quoting 1 Cor. xii.

he does not define what the Words are. Nor does he balance the statement by reference to the Holy Spirit, as does the very similar passage from another pseudo-Alcuinian compilation quoted above at p. 176.

Something more definite must be expected as we draw on to the Scholastic period. The cry was for lucidity and no ambiguity. This temper was unfavourable to any balanced view of holy mysteries. The curious-minded were beginning to ask 'What exactly is the "form" of this Sacrament?' So Hugh of St. Victor († 1141) answered, 'The rehearsal of the Words which Christ spoke: *Accipite . . . meum*.'¹

And Peter Lombard, his contemporary († 1160), said the same.²

Speaking from rather a different quarter and with another voice, the great administrator Innocent III († 1216) is much more interesting because he sees and faces the difficulty involved in such a view, which turns the narrative into a benediction and words of administration by themselves into words of consecration.³ But we must not dilate upon it at this late stage.

Lastly, it will be well to quote Aquinas († 1274): in his Commentary on St. Matthew (xxvi. 26-9) he says the form of the Sacrament is in these four Words.⁴ Also, for the local interest,

23). *Christi ergo virtute et verbis iste panis et calix ab initio consecratus est, et semper consecratur, et consecrabitur. Ipse enim, loquens per sacerdotes sua verba, caelesti benedictione sanctum corpus et sanguinem suum perficit.* (*De div. officiis*, c. 40, *P.L.* ci. 1260.) The earlier part to 'consecrabitur' is common to this tract and to the Exposition of Florus quoted above. Then the two diverge interestingly. (Cp. p. 176, note 3.)

¹ 'Forma huius sacramenti est commemoratio illorum verborum quae in cena Christus dixit, dicens *Accipite, hoc est corpus meum*. Et sicut tunc panem illum et calicem in verum corpus et in verum sanguinem verbo suo commutavit, ita indubitanter credimus verba illa a sacerdote, eo ordine et ea intentione dicta, panem et vinum in verum corpus Christi et in verum sanguinem commutare.' (*Summa sententiarum*, Tr. 6, c. 4, *P.L.* clxxvi. 140.)

² 'Forma vero est quam ipse ibidem edidit dicens, *Hoc est corpus meum*: et post, *Hic est sanguis meus*. Cum enim haec verba proferuntur, conversio fit.' (*Sententiarum*, iv. ii, dist. viii. 3, *P.L.* cxciii. 856.) Cp. the discussions recorded by Peter of Poitiers (*P.L.* ccxxi) recorded by Stone, i, p. 308.

³ *De sacro altari mysterio*, iv. 6, *P.L.* ccxvii. 859. He gives all cap. 6 to it and part of cap. 7. See Stone, i. 308-13.

⁴ '*Hoc est corpus meum*: Forma sacramenti continetur in his verbis, quia in verbis domini sacramentum conficitur.' (See also his comment on 1 Cor. xi.) In the *Summa* the matter is handled in pars 3, quaestio 78, art. 1.

we may cite the Synod of Exeter (1287), which on that ground forbade the Elevation to be made till they were completed.¹

While this was being reiterated in the West, the Orthodox world went on its way in the old tradition on this point.

It is summed up in the Russian *Longer Catechism*.

Q. What is the most essential act in the Liturgy of the Faithful?

A. The utterance of the Words which Jesus Christ spake in instituting the Sacrament, *Take, eat, this is My Body. Drink ye all of it, for this is My Blood of the new Covenant* (Mt. xxvi. 26-8); and after this the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, and the blessing of the gifts, that is the bread and wine which have been offered.

Q. Why is this so essential?

A. Because at the moment of this act the bread and wine are changed, or transubstantiated, into the very Body of Christ and into the very Blood of Christ.

Q. How are we to understand the word transubstantiation?

The reply given is that of the Eastern patriarchs; not as explaining the manner of the change but as 'signifying that the bread truly and substantially becomes the very true Body of the Lord and . . . the very Blood of the Lord'.²

What a pity that the policy of bullying the Greeks at Florence had made not a Union, but a further breach, when an honourable agreement ought to have been possible on these lines!

The controversy, like a good many others, has now rather a faded appearance. Rome is now increasingly tender to the Eastern rites so far as the Uniat bodies are concerned. The Words-view of Consecration is maintained—how could it be otherwise, in consideration not only of the Western history and the doctrinal statements of the Roman Church, but also of the Canon itself? But this is not held to rule out absolutely and everywhere some use at the normal point in the prayer of an

¹ 'Quia vero per haec verba *Hoc est enim corpus meum*, et non per alia, panis transsubstantiatur, &c. (Wilkins, *Concilia*, ii. 132.)

² Translated by Blackmore in *The Doctrine of the Russian Church* (1845), pp. 91, 92. This catechism was drafted by Philaret of Moscow in 1839, and synodically adopted in Russia and approved in a Greek version by Eastern Orthodox authorities. It depends upon the Confession of the Council of Jerusalem, § 17 (1672). Kimmel, *Libri symbolici*, p. 457.

epiclesis of the Holy Spirit, as of old. The Uniat *Leitourgicon* (Λειτουργικόν) issued in 1681 at Rome for Grottaferrata, by the authority of Cardinal Nerli, as Protector of the Basilian Order, seems to signalize a new departure, in the sense that Rome, which had constantly proclaimed its desire to uphold the Eastern rites, was taking more interest in doing so. The book was arranged on the lines of a Latin *Missale*; in the middle were set the three Anaphoras of St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, and The Presanctified in Greek: the Dominical Words were displayed in large type, and surrounded by rubrics,¹ which expressly call them Words of Consecration, and prescribe the Elevation. After them the Anamnesis follows, and the Invocation in the usual form of the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom,² or St. Basil, as the case may be, accompanied by three crossings.

¹ Προφέρει . . . τὰ τῆς καθιερώσεως ῥήματα. 'Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι. . . .' Μετὰ δὲ τὴν καθιέρωσιν, εὐθέως τὸ θεῖον μυστήριον προσκυνεῖ γονυπετήσας, εἴτα ἀνιστάμενος δείκνυσιν αὐτὸ τῷ λαῷ . . . κτλ. [*L.E.W.* 388.]

"Ομοίως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον. . . . Μεμνημένοι τοίνυν. . . . Τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν προσφέρομεν. . . . "Ἐτι προσφερόμέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν, καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε καὶ δέομεθα καὶ ἱκετεύομεν κατὰπεμψον τὸ Πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς κτλ.'

² Above, p. 91.

XVIII

THE ENGLISH RITE, 1549-1927

AFTER this brief recall of some points in the long liturgical tradition we come back to the inquiry from which we started: What is the model to be followed, or what are the requisites to be borne in mind, as to the framing of the Eucharistic Canon for the future? It is not merely a question of what is needed for ourselves in the Church of England; we are concerned with new Churches which are growing up under our guidance in many and various parts of the world, and are themselves very diverse in history, character, and attainment. It is not enough to put before them a mere reproduction of an existing European or Eastern rite, however venerable or valued; on the contrary, the aim should be to secure for them a rite which is as rich as possible with the accumulated experience of the past, but free from the legacy of controversies, jealousies, and negations: richly expressive of their own best powers of catholic worship.

The English Reformers of 1549 had a similar task; but they were far less well equipped with knowledge than we in our generation have been privileged to become, by fresh discoveries as well as by deeper study. Their aim was to make an intelligible English Mass; and they were principally confronted with the Latin Canon, which defied translation and did not easily lend itself to explanation. To reproduce it in any other form would necessarily involve some considerable adaptation.

But the compilers, though they meant to keep close to the Canon as representing the old tradition, desired also some changes. The sixteenth century had brought with it some facilities for the study of the liturgies of the Orthodox East. The Cambridge Humanists had widened their outlook in some degree therefrom, and even made some points of contact with the old Mozarabic Rite of Spain. Five points may be observed as having influenced them in regard to the Canon.

1. The insufficiency of the provision for Intercessory Prayer.

The opening and the two 'Memento' clauses offered little of this as compared with the double provision in the Eastern rites by the Diaconal Litanies and Intercessions preceding the Anaphora as well as the Great Intercession within the Anaphora itself. So arose in 1549 the Prayer 'for the whole Estate of Christ's Church', set after the singing of the 'Sanctus'.¹

2. The absence from the current Mass of any prayer for the sanctifying grace of the Holy Spirit was a defect which could not escape the notice of any acquainted with Eastern or with 'Gallican' rites. But the compilers, in remedying it, were hampered by the same theological presupposition which had led to the absence of the commemoration of the Holy Spirit from the Latin Canon. They were unable to escape from the Scholastic view that Consecration was effected by the Recital of the Institution. They therefore prefixed the Invocation that they reintroduced, setting it before the Recital itself—thus putting it into the Preamble, and making havoc of the trinitarian and credal form of the Prayer. Subsequent history has confirmed the experience of antiquity that this procedure offers no solution of the problem.

3. They laid fresh emphasis on the note of Thanksgiving, which had been so prominent from the beginning in the normal forms of the Eucharistic Prayer, but was not so in the Latin Canon.

4. A similar defect was made good by the additional emphasis laid on the offering of 'ourselves, our souls and bodies' in union with the Holy Sacrifice.²

5. Outside the Canon also the new English rite was enriched by the addition of the fixed form of Thanksgiving for Communion, followed by the Blessing.

After a brief career the rite of 1549 disappeared, to be followed by the still briefer career of the rite of 1552. In this the 'godly order' of the First English Rite was thrown into confusion.

¹ On the position of the Intercession see above ch. XV, pp. 153-5. In 1549 the precedent of the Canon had been followed by placing it in the Canon.

² It is possible that this may have been a feature in the African Rite, for it was one greatly emphasized by St. Austin.

1. The intercession was taken out of the Anaphora, and put back, so as to follow immediately after the Offertory; and it was reduced to being a prayer for the Church *militant here in earth*.

2. The Invocation disappeared. Its place was taken by a petition that the receivers might be partakers of Christ's Body and Blood. The Recital followed, and at the end of the last of the Dominical Words the prayer in this new form came to an abrupt conclusion. Viewing this according to the old catholic scheme of the Canon, it is evident that only the Preamble to the offering of the Sacrifice had been said. But according to the Scholastic view this truncated prayer did contain the bare essentials for Consecration.

The change was fundamental. In trying to become less Roman the Revisers had in fact become more so.

3. The Lord's Prayer was postponed till after communion.

4. The rite of 1549 had been explicit about the Sacrifice. After the Preamble it ran thus:

'Wherefore O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the institution of Thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jesu Christ, we Thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before Thy divine majesty with these thy holy gifts the memorial which Thy Son hath willed us to make, having in remembrance His blessed passion, mighty resurrection and glorious ascension; rendering unto Thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same, entirely desiring Thy Fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our Sacrifice', &c.

The compilers were evidently of the opinion—a popular one then on the Continent—that the practical abuses which they sought to remedy were traceable to the prevailing conceptions of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. Indeed, there was a good deal of excuse for this blame if it was laid at the door of the distortions rather than of the true conceptions. We have already noted in early days the beginnings of the distortions (39). By now the resulting abuses had become manifest. The attention of the worshipper had tended to stray away from the central

Act of Sacrifice and to be concentrated on the marvel of the consecration: and, as the Middle Ages rolled on in the West, that meant concentration on the recitation of the Words. The miracle, not the sacrifice, absorbed him.

Again, the Sacrifice was the task of the whole body of worshippers; but the Consecration was reserved to the celebrant; accordingly he gained importance as they lost it, until at last they became an almost negligible item, rather than the human essential of the service. Other priests, instead of joining with him, deserted him. They broke up the Unity of Sacrifice and altar by separatism, and came very near to the danger of treating the Mass as personal devotions.

Again, the Private Mass being established, it had become marketable. Supply met demand; an increasing number of priests lived by supplying these Masses, and were interested in the propaganda that stimulated the demand. The demand was partly a worthy desire to hear Mass, and communicate with greater frequency: but the motive in multiplying requiems quantitatively, and chantry priests to supply them, was less worthy. And so things had gone on through some centuries, developing logically from what had gone before, but vitiated by the premisses being distorted.

Reviewing this crucial matter of the Sacrifice. In a few sentences we are plunged into the thick of some of the abuses that the Reformers and the Council of Trent alike set themselves, with varying success, to remedy.

The Latin Canon, it is true, was itself but little responsible for these and similar deformations. No objection could be raised, at any rate, to its offering of the sacrifice or to its petitions for the acceptance of it. But the compilers, it appears, 'saw red', and laid the blame of the medieval and current abuses on what was (rightly understood) the most evangelical and primitive part of the Lord's Service—ordained (as the Catechism in 1604 more soberly maintained) 'for the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits that we receive thereby'.

Both the Latin Canon and the Canon of 1549 were in this Anamnesis section sufficient and catholic. They made the memorial sacrifice which the Lord commanded, they commemorated not only the events in the Upper Room, which the Preamble rehearsed, but also the rest of His earthly work of redemption—His passion, resurrection, and ascension. Then, having offered the Sacrifice, they went on to pray for its acceptance, and so for the completion of the Consecration. But in 1552 the offering of the Sacrifice was cut out; and with it went the commemoration of the passion, resurrection, and ascension. The Anamnesis, in short, was ousted. This left of the Canon only a head and a tail, with no sufficient body; and the tail disjoined from the head.¹

But there was more that needed to be amended in repairing the mutilation of 1552. A new clause had been introduced before the Recital—into the gash caused by the excision of the Invocation of the Holy Spirit which had been clumsily inserted there so recently in 1549. This was an intruded novelty in this position,² and broke up the continuity of the Prayer. As we have seen³ already, the structure of the Prayer is an appeal to the Eternal Father in view of all that He has done through Christ; and these acts of the Saviour are rehearsed in a series of relative sentences thus:—Who made there . . . &c., and did institute . . . &c., and . . . command us to continue . . . until His coming again, Who in the same night that He was betrayed took bread . . . , &c.

The compilers had already broken up the traditional structure and continuity of the Canon when they had in 1549

¹ It is a strange thing that in recent years an idea has spread that the proper method of healing this mutilation was to tack on the tail (by an illogical link) to the head. This rough surgery may very naturally have seemed, as a bit of 'first aid', better than nothing, and even a useful step to a proper healing, so long as there seemed to be no immediate prospect of a real recovery. This was the case, for example, in the seventeenth century; and the idea revived for a time in the earliest stages of Revision in the twentieth century; but (see p. 203) the fundamental objections to such a half-measure soon came into view; and it inevitably became clear that the only real recovery could be through the replacement of the Anamnesis. Accordingly this was done in 1927. But the clumsy surgery still has its advocates.

² p. 197.

³ See p. 48.

misplaced the epiclesis here; but if that intruder could claim to belong to the family, this new clause could not; for the clause of 1552 was a manifest alien, in doctrine alike as in syntax. It was one of the haunting troubles of the compilers that they could never get away from themselves; and alas! recurrent self-consciousness is a great hindrance to worship. A plague of this sort evidently invaded the compilers in 1552. Three years previously the then compilers had begun to suffer from this malady. Note, for example, how on the very first page the wide-spreading cry 'Kyrie eleison' is narrowed down to 'Lord have mercy UPON US'. But (to give a single and relevant instance) it was reserved for 1552 to transfer the Prayer of Humble Access into the middle of the Canon, and thus drag down the poor aspiring worshipper, who had just been summoned up to the heavenly places and the celestial company, to come back to earth again and concentrate on his miserable self. The compilers, no doubt, meant well; but their alien intruder must go to his proper place in the section of penitence. The rehabilitation of the Canon could not be brought about without the ejection of this clause as well as the restoration of the central act of memorial sacrifice in the Anamnesis.

The 'tail' part of the Canon when cut off in 1552 had required some modification before it could take up its unwonted task of serving as an alternative to the Thanksgiving after Communion. Of the three excisions made in it for this purpose the first was necessary because of the change of position; the second, perhaps, because it was thought to be no more than a redundant echo of the Prayer of Humble Access. The third excision concerned the clause:

command these our prayers and supplications by the ministry of
Thy holy angels to be brought up into Thy holy tabernacle before
the sight of Thy divine Majesty;

This clause was the equivalent provided in 1549 for the 'Supplices Te' clause in the Latin Canon—a much disputed passage in the original Latin, and made less, not more, acceptable or intelligible by the English version.

In closing so abruptly the Consecration Prayer of 1552 the compilers were probably moved rather by a desire to base it upon a scriptural text than by any wish to secure that the Scholastic view of consecration should be satisfied. But this act of theirs did, in fact, bring about two results, neither of which, one might have supposed, would have been to the liking of the compilers.

First, it fastened upon the English Church (when subsequently it faced up to the situation) an extreme and even exaggerated acceptance of the Scholastic view of consecration in its most exclusive form—a form, in fact, which Rome itself, as things are, has relinquished or even repudiated in its dealing with its Eastern Uniat Churches. There are some who have survived from the last century, and others who follow them, who still retain this extreme view, regardless or ignorant of the history (and of this change in Roman policy); and they can, no doubt, quote in their support the book of 1552 and those that have followed its line. But the later, more enlightened, and now prevailing Anglican view does not support them in this, having found, like Rome, the possibility of accommodating a more moderate and historical Scholastic view with the ancient and Patristic view.

Secondly, the compilers, in displacing the Lord's Prayer from its traditional place as the climax of the Canon, and setting it after communion, reduced its significance and minimized its importance. This they can hardly have intended to do. But this is, in fact, the result of what they did; and all the more clearly because at the same time they cut out the preface introducing it, which gave it there an additional significance. Incidentally, by placing it after communion, they nullified for its purpose the prayer for 'daily bread'.

These are some of the consequences, designed or undesigned, of the mutilation perpetrated in 1552, and continued into the Prayer Book of 1662, though with grave misgivings on the part of the most competent of the revisers in 1661.

Those misgivings have persisted and gained expression

increasingly ever since. There could never again be an Anglican '1552'. Where it survives, as it does in regard to the Canon of 1661, it does so only out of routine conservatism. Living Anglican worship has swept past that, sometimes tumultuously, like a gold rush, 'every man for himself' and in his own line; at other times in decent and disciplined order, the leaders leading and the followers following.

The former is characteristic of England; the latter of, say, Scotland, America, and South Africa. A brief summary of the main lines of orderly development since 1661 is all that further need be attempted here.¹

The Anglican Canon in the Last Three Centuries

Scotland takes the lead in recovering the Canon after its mutilation. Its first attempt was gallant, but unsuccessful. The Scottish Book of 1637 never had a proper hearing. It was buried, but not dead. Meanwhile the 'Episcopalian' Church struggled on without any book of its own. By importing copies the English Book was made to serve: it did so fairly acceptably except for the Communion Service. A better one had formed part of the ill-fated Book of 1637; and throughout the eighteenth century the eager desire for a nobler liturgy contended with the more easy-going policy of keeping in line with England.

In the Canon of 1637 a return had been made in the central part to the form of the English Book of 1549. The Intercession was separated and placed earlier (as in 1552), but otherwise the order was as in 1549; a similar Invocation preceded the Recital, and the Anamnesis followed it with the prayer for acceptance, leading up to the Lord's Prayer with its bidding.

Thus, apart from the question of the place of the Invocation, which was still to remain in dispute, the main structural repairs had been done.

¹ A general account of the English Canon between 1661 and 1916 is given in W. Sparrow-Simpson, *The Prayer of Consecration* (1917). The standard authority on the Scottish and American Rites so far as 1884 is Bishop Dowden's *Historical Account* (Grant, Edinburgh, 1884): and the parallel print of the successive Books in S. P. A. Lempriere, *The Scottish Communion Offices*, is very useful (Grant, Edinburgh, 1909).

Into the later developments of the Scottish Book there is no need to enter at any length here. Suffice it to say that the Scots, influenced and helped considerably by the Non-jurors, recovered the Scottish Book (1743 and 1752); revised it (1755), transposing the Invocation to its normal position after the offering of the Sacrifice; stabilized it in the edition of 1764; and has carried out further amendments down to the present time.

A great diffusion of the Scottish model has come about through the fact that America (U.S.A.) received its Anglican episcopal succession from Scotland in 1784; and with that also the beginnings of its liturgical tradition. That Church thus started free of the heritage of 1552 or of 1661. In its Canon, the Recital is followed by the Anamnesis; then comes the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, and then the usual Anglican Prayer for acceptance of the Oblation, and the Lord's Prayer.

In South Africa the same general scheme has been followed in the Canon of the South African Liturgy.

In England the stream of Prayer-book Revision that took its leisurely course from (say) 1906 to 1929,¹ after many adventures, wanderings, and windings arrived ultimately at a similar result. There was no difference in the Order of Communion of 1928 from that of 1927, except in the General Rubrics.

The revision had accomplished the operations necessary to set right the mutilation perpetrated in 1552. After a considerable stage of hesitation about reuniting the three dismembered sections, it had restored the Anamnesis with the Sacrifice to its proper place, and mainly in the language of 1549, having in the earlier part of the prayer ejected the intruded clause, and thus recovered the true form as well as the true conception of the Prayer. It followed this by replacing the Prayer of Oblation, and then the Lord's Prayer, with its bidding, as the climax of the Canon. In all this it was returning to the Book of 1549, as had been so long, and widely, and earnestly desired.

¹ For a survey of events see Bell's *Life of Randall Davidson*, chapters xxxix and lxxxi.

In one important point, however, 1927 differed from 1549, for it placed the Invocation of the Holy Spirit after the Anamnesis. In this respect it was not only following general catholic custom (as has been shown) but also the later Anglican tradition, as exhibited in the Rites of Scotland, America, South Africa, &c.

When the second Measure of the Convocation and Church Assembly, like the first, had been defeated by the House of Commons (June 14, 1928), the Church could not regard this as the last word.

On the contrary, after the rebuff plans began at once to be made for the episcopate to proceed on the line of using the Permissions of the Book of 1928 as its standard and guide in the exercise of that administrative discretion, which the rebuff, by its refusal of the new scheme of Worship and Order, had made it more than ever necessary for episcopal authority to exercise.

This involved among other things the adoption of a policy as to the use of the new Canon. With special leave it was to be available in the form in which it had been put forward, first in 1927 and then again in 1928. This form, it will be remembered, meant mainly three things—the reassembly of the mutilated Canon in its entirety, the ejection of the intruded clause of 1552, and the recovery of an invocation of the Holy Spirit placed in its traditional position.

Elaborate steps were taken to ensure the support of the whole Church for this complete policy. A sort of referendum was made. The new Composite Prayer-book, combining 1662 and 1928, was published and made generally accessible; the dioceses through their Synods or Diocesan Conferences were asked to vote upon it, and so either endorse or repudiate the episcopal policy which had been already passed by the Convocations and by the Church Assembly. A heavy vote endorsed it. Further action in Convocation followed. A long reasoned resolution was proposed in the two Houses of Canterbury by the Primate on July 10, 1929. It said that in view of all that had happened the bishops would not discountenance those divergences from 1662 which 1928

authorized; but they would endeavour to cause unauthorized divergences therefrom to cease. The Primate's motion was passed in both houses by overwhelming majorities. This was the action in the Convocation of Canterbury, and in the Convocation of York it was similar.¹

The Canon of 1928 represents therefore the best mind of the Church of England of the day. The Declaration of July 1929 is decisive upon that point.

But the fires of opposition, which had burnt themselves out to a great extent in the Church itself, were speedily rekindled outside. The conservatives, who wished for no revision, joined with those who wished for more drastic revision, but thought that the time had not come for it yet. The former wished to be left alone to go on with 1662 more or less, on traditional lines; the latter wished to be left to go on in any way that they thought good—high, or low. Both opponents wished to do so under the cover of '1662'. Neither party wished its divergences to 'be caused to cease'. The bishops in the dioceses largely relapsed into inactivity. Their task was a hard one.

Much of what was sanctioned in the way of divergence from 1662 had already behind it a strong prescriptive right, and the new sanction was therefore met with a 'Thank you for nothing'. On the other hand, there was a vast number of peculiar and borrowed innovations and idiosyncrasies already more or less prevailing (as well as other experiments on which, however laudable, no agreement had been reached), all of which had their determined supporters: and such divergences could not at once or easily be made to cease. A third class of divergences contained fine provisions for permissive change which were adopted, but proved to be unpopular, misconceived, misrepresented, and misunderstood. This class included, quite unwarrantably in view of its history, the restored Canon of 1928. It is partly to remove such prejudices, ignorances, and other misfortunes as those that arose in 1927/8, and partly to prevent similar mistakes in the future, that this book has been written.

¹ *Chron. of Convoc.* VIII. i. 78, 128, 139, 158.

INDEX

- Abel, 147, 150.
 Abraham, 147, 150.
 Abyssinian, *see* Ethiopic.
 A.C. (Apostolic Const.), 28, 46-52,
 55, 57, 60, 61, 71 &c., 189.
 Act of Sacrifice, 10, 24-7, 106, 109.
 Adamantius, 81.
 Administration, 9, 14, 75.
 Adoptionism, 105.
Ad pacem, 106.
 Africa, 37-41, 47, 97, 100, 112, 117-
 123, 144, 159, 196, South African
 Rite, 203.
 Agape, 9, 15, 26.
 Agapetus, Pope, 127.
 Agde, 112.
Agnus dei, 59, 175.
 Agobard, 127.
 Alaric, 102.
 Alcuin, Pseudo, 174, 175, 191.
 Alexander Comnenus, Emperor, 183.
 Alexandria, 44, 67, 79, 82-5, 87, 171.
 Amalarius, 177.
 Ambrose, St., 49, 117, 123-31, 142,
 146, 151, 172, 173.
 Ambrose, Pseudo, 128-32, 140, 147,
 151, 154. Ambrosiaster, 142.
 Ambrosian Rite, 113, 116, 123-8,
 142, 146, 151, 172, 173.
 American Rite, 202, 203.
Anamnesis, remembrance, 9-11, 24-
 6, 32, 33, 38, 56, 57, 69, 70, 75-8,
 84, 85, 119, 135, 140, 147, 152,
 164, 178, 194, 198-204.
 Anaphora, the term, 1, 10, 24-6, 28,
 54, & *passim*.
 Andrewes, Bp. Lancelot, 24.
 Angel 140, 147, 174.
 Anselm, St., 183.
Ante nomina, 106, 154.
Ante orationem dominicam, 110, 133.
 Anthony, St., 76.
 Antioch, 67, 73, 74, 142.
 Antitype, 44, 47, 80, 189.
 Aphraat, 72.
 Apocalypse, 16.
 Apollonius, St., 5.
 Apologists, 21, 26, 31.
Apostolic Tradition, 47-57, 71, 95.
 Aquileia, 95, 123, 133.
 Aquinas, St. T., 192.
 Arian, 98, 103, 124, 142.
 Aristides, 21.
 Arles, 104, 105, 112, 127, 128.
 Armenian Liturgy, 64, 85.
 Asia, 105.
 Atchley, Dr. (Ed.), 72, 128, 149, 177.
 Athanasius, St., 76, 82, 94, 95.
 Athenagoras, 5.
Auctarium Solesmense, 133.
 Austin, St., 30, 117-23, 146, 172,
 173, 196.
 Autun, 107, 109.
 Auxentius, 123, 124.
 Auxerre, 112.
 Avitus, 128.
 Azymes, 182-7.
 Bakhuyzen (ed.), 81.
 Baptism, rite, 72, 73, 172: trinitarian,
 19, 21.
 Barberini MS. of Liturgy, 81.
 Bari, 183.
 Barnabas, 50, 51.
 Basil, St., 86, 87; Liturgy, 64, 84,
 85, 91, 93, 143, 189, 194.
 Beatus and Etherius, 105.
 Bell (ed.), 203.
 Benediction, in consecration (*q.v.*),
 8, 114, 130, 158, 167, 176, 183,
 see Blessing.
Benedictus, clause, 58, 108.
 Bessarion, Cardl., 187-9.
 Bishop, E. (ed.), 170, 185.
 Bishop, W. C. (ed.), 99, 118.
 Black Rubric, 203.
 Blackmore (ed.), 193.
 Blessing, nature of, 8, 54, 114; at
 end of Mass, 112, 119, 196; at
 Kiddush, 8, 9, 11; in consecra-
 tion, 11, 14, 26, 114, 130.
 Bloodless Sacrifice, 5, 41.
 Bobbio, 105.
 Boniface, Pope, 146.
 Bothe (ed.), 96, 134, &c.
 Braga, 99, 144, 149, 173.
 Breaking of Bread, 11, 12, 14, *see*
 Fraction.
 Brightman (ed.), *L.E.W.* i, *passim*.
 Bruns (ed.), 67, 99 ff., *passim*.
 Burn (ed.), 20.
 Burnt Offering, 2-4, 9.
 Byzantine Rite, 58, 63, 64, 91, 93,
 194, *see* St. Chrysostom.
 Byzantium, 116.
 Cabasilas, N., 173, 181, 184-7.
 Cabrol, Abbot, 128.

- Caecilius, 38.
 Caesarius of Arles, 112, 127, 128.
 Caius Coll., Cambridge, 167.
 Callistus, Pope, 93, 134.
 Cana, 11.
 Canon of the Latin Mass, the term, 24-6, 28, 29, 95, 96, 99, 111, 119, 120, 128-33, &c., Ch. xiv, 134, &c.
Canons of the Apostles, 58.
 Capelle (ed.), 154.
 Cappadocia, 86, 97, 123.
 Carmen 30, 120.
Caroline Books, 177.
 Carthage, 119; Council, 143.
 Castellanum, 128.
 Catechism, Russian, 193.
 Catechumens dismissed, 175.
 Catolenus, 146.
 Cemeteries, 45, 46.
 Ceriani (ed.), 133.
 Cesarini, Cardl., 188.
 Charles (ed.), 5.
 Christina, St., 115.
 Chrysostom, St., 49, 73, 74, 85, 88-93, 172, 185, 188, 194; Liturgy, 64, 91.
 Cilicia, 73, 86.
 Clement, St., of Rome, 21, 29, 93, 135; Liturgy, 58, 63; of Alexandria, 79.
 Clovis, 112.
 Collectio, 106.
 Communion, 75, 164.
 Commixture, 108, 111.
 Communal Meals, 4-6, 11, 14, 15, 30.
Communicantes, 133, 135, 137, 156, 163.
 Communion, 25, 26, 28, 75, 77, 119, 137-9, 164, 201.
Completuria, 106.
Confessio Fidei Albini, 175.
Conformatio, 101, 114.
 Confractorium, 133.
 Connolly (ed.), 43-52, 75, 79, 170, 185.
 Consecration, 9, 24, 27, 28, 31, 54, 79, 130, 158-63, 179, 196-200; the term, 54; by Prayer, 28, 31, 34, 39-41; Word or Words, *see* Word; Invocation of God, 34, 35; of H. Trinity, 68; Logos, *q.v.*; H. Spirit, 69; of the Name 8, 127; General, 44.
 Consignation, 75.
 Constantine I, 70, 86, 104, 105.
 Constantinople, 82, 93, 103, 124, 168, 183, 190.
 Constantius, 123.
Consummatio missae, 106.
Contestatio, 106, 108, 156, 174.
 Conversion, eucharistic, 68, 79, 80.
 Cooper and Maclean (ed.), 55, 56, 71.
 Coptic Order of baptism, 72, 73; Papyrus, 83.
 Cordova, 96, 103.
 Corinthians, Epist. i, 13-17.
 Credal form, 21, 22, 25, 196.
 Cross, signed, 119, 121, 175.
 Crum (ed.), 83.
 Crusade, 183.
 Cyprian, St., 37-41, 96, 117.
 Cyril of Jerusalem, 53, 68-71, 73, 74, 80.
 Damasus, Pope, 97, 142, 146.
 Danby (ed.), *see* *Mishnah*, 3-5.
 Danube, 97.
 Deacon, 74, 75.
 Decentius, 96, 145, 148.
 Decretals, 97, *see* Gratian.
 Denzinger and Bannwart (ed.), 191.
Deprecatio Gelasii, 153-5.
 Dêr Balyzeh papyrus, 51, 83-5.
Didache, 12, 13, 51, 59, 77.
 Didascalia, 44-6, 49, 55, 62, 71.
Diesque nostros, 150, 174.
 Dionysius Exiguus, 145.
 Diptychs, *see* Names.
 Disciplina arcani, 27, 42, 130.
 Dislocation 40, 48.
Disputatio Puerorum, 177.
 Dix (ed.), 47, 56, 60.
 Dmitrievsky (ed.), 77.
 Donatist, 117, 120.
 Dorotheus of Mytilene, 187, 188.
 Dowden, Bp. (ed.), 202.
 Duchesne, L. (ed.), *Christian Worship*, 94; *Liber Pontificalis*.
 Dudden (ed.), 126.
 Egyptian Rite, 58, 63, ch. x, 86, *see* St. Mark.
 ἐκτενή, 153.
 Elipandus and Felix, 105.
 Elpidius, 148.
 Elvira, 96, 103.
 Emmaus, 11.
 Ephesus, 116.
 Ephraim Syrus, 72.
 Essenes, 6.
 Etheria (Silvia), 86, 94.
 Ethiopia, The Eunuch, 19; *Eth. Statutes of Ap.*, 55-60; Liturgies, 55-61, 64, 85; Baptism, 73.
 εὐχαριστία, 9, 24, 26, 29-39, 41, 44, 45, 54, 68, 69.
 εὐχή, 20, 28, 31-3, 41, 42, 79.
 Eugenius IV, Pope, 187, 189.

- Eusebius, 41.
 Eutherius, 99.
 Euthymius, 181, 183.
 Eutyches, 148.
 Eutychius of Constantinople, 82.
 Evagrius, 143.
 Exeter, 193.
Expositio Missae Romanae, 140, 174.
 Exuperius, 145.

 Fastidius, 143.
 Faustus of Riez, 127.
 Ferotin (ed.), 98, &c., 109.
 Ferrara, 187.
Figura, 37, 80, 131.
Filioque, 182, 186.
 Firmilian, Bp., 40.
 Florence Council, 172, 186-91.
 Florus, 171, 176, 177, 192.
 Font-consecration, 72, 73.
 Formosus, Pope, 182.
 Fraction, 75, 106, 111, 132, 164, 165.
 Franks, 100, 103-12; rite, 103-12, 116, 174.
 Franz (ed.), 177.
 Fulgentius of Ruspe, 122.
 Funk (ed.), 77-80.

 Galicia, 99, 134.
 Gallican Rites, 66, 96, 103, 104-16, 151, 156, 163, 174-81; see *Missale*.
 Gaudentius of Brescia, 126.
 Gaul, 97, 103-5, 123, 128, 144.
 Geffcken (ed.), 5.
 Gelasius, Pope, on Canon, 95, 96, 146, 148, 170; *Deprecatio*, 153; Sacramentary, 163.
 Gennadius of Marseilles, 128; of Constantinople, 199.
 Genoa, 124.
 Gerbert (ed.), 146, 178.
 German of Paris, 107; *Expositio*, 107, 110, 111.
 Germanus, 181.
 Giustiniani (ed.), 188.
Gloria in excelsis, 20, 59.
Gloria patri, 20, 112.
 Gospel-narratives, 6, 7, 15.
 Goths, 97-100, 104.
 Gratian, 123, 148, 177.
 Gregory the Great, Liturgy, 28, 64, 100, 132, 144, 146, 148, 150, 153, 154, 173-5.
 of Nazianzus, 59, 80, 87.
 of Nyssa, 87.
 of Tours, 110, 128.
 Grotta Ferrata, 194.
 Gubbio, 96, 145.
 Gwynn (ed.), 27.

 Hadrian Sacramentary, 163.
 Hamm (ed.), 140.
Hanc igitur, 133, 135, 137, 156, 163, 170, 174.
 Harden, Bp. (ed.), 55-61, 64.
 Harduin (ed.), 144, 187, 188.
 Harnack (ed.), 105.
 Hartel (ed.), 38, 41.
 Harvey (ed.), 34-6.
 Hauler (ed.), 47, &c.
 Haussleiter (ed.), 159.
 Heavenly Words, see Words; Sphere, 74.
 Hebrews, Epistle to, 15-17, 24.
 Hefele-Leclercq (ed.), 67, 105, 186.
 Helena, 70, 86.
 Hezekiah, 10.
 Hicks, Bp. (ed.), 1, &c.
 Hildefonsus, 98, 100, 103.
 Himerius of Tarragona, 97.
 Hippolytus of Rome, 47-62, 68, 95, 134, 162; Hipp. Anaphora, 47-62, ch. vii, 134-41, 162, 169.
 Horner, G. (ed.), 56, &c.
 Hormisdas, Pope, 98.
 Hosanna clause, 58, 59, 101, 108.
 Hosius, Bp., 96, 97.
 Hugh of St. Victor, 192.

 Ignatius, St., of Antioch, 21, 29.
Illatio, 101, 106, 108, 114, 151, 156.
 Illiberis, see Elvira.
 Image, 74, 80, 148.
Immolatio, 106, 108.
 Innocent I, Pope, 28, 96, 144, 148.
 Innocent III, Pope, 192.
In qua nocte, 106, 108.
 Institution, 6-11, see Recital.
 Intercession, 16, 29, 75, 77, 135, 153-5, 195-7, 202.
 Intinction, 75.
 Invocation, general, 11, 44, 46, 86, 87, 125, 128, 147, 161-3; of Trinity, 68, 128; of God, 34-6; of Name, 8, 127, cp. 73; of Logos, 36, 42-4, 77, 80, 82, 87, &c., 161-3; of H. Spirit, 51, 69, 70, 72, 75, 82, 84, 87, 88, &c., 148; by heretics, 41; in Anglican Rites, 196-9, 202-4; in Baptism, 72, 73, 78.
 Ireland, 116.
 Irenaeus, St., 21, 33-6, 43, 50, 78, 161.
 Isidore of Pelusium, 43.
 of Seville, 98-107, 113-15, 174, 177.
 of Kiev, 187.
 Italy, North, 97, 103, 112, 123 ff., 144.
 Ivo of Chartres, 123.

- Jacobite, 85.
 James, St., Liturgy, 57-9, 63, 85, 189; Apostle, 93.
 Jerome, 82, 83, 94, 146.
 Jerusalem, 2-5, 13, 67-70, 72, 75, 76, ch. xi, 94; Council, 193.
 Joasaph of Constantinople, 186.
 Johannine teaching, 15-18.
 John of Damascus, 92, 173, 179.
 of Rome, Pope, 146.
 of Syracuse, 153.
 Palaeologus, Emperor, 187.
 Torquemada, Cardl., 187-90.
Jube haec perferri, 174, 177.
 Julian of Toledo, 100.
 Justell and Voell (ed.), 145.
 Justin Martyr, St., 21, 22, 30-3, 43, 50, 78, 79, 135.
 Kiddush, 5-8, 12.
 Kimmel (ed.), 193.
 Kiss of peace, 74, 111, 119, 145, 154.
 Klette (ed.), 5.
 Laodicaea, Council, 67.
 Latin terminology, 39, 40.
 Leander, St., 98, 100.
 Leger, St., 109.
Legitima, 38, 41, 114, 167, 168, 176; *MG.* ii. 57.
 Leib, B. (ed.), 182.
Leitourgicon, 194.
 Lempriere (ed.), 203.
 Leo I, Pope, 133, 146, 147, 150; Style, 113, 148; Sacramentary, 163.
 Lerins, 127.
 Leroquais (ed.), 65.
L.E.W., 49 *et passim*; see Brightman.
Liber Pontificalis, 59.
 Lightfoot (ed.), 29.
 Likeness, 77, 80.
 Linton (ed.), 54-7, &c.
 Litany, 75, 153.
 Liturgies, ch. viii, see James, Basil, Chrysostom, Mark, A. C.
 Logos, consecrating, 31, 36, 42-4, 73, 77-9, 82, 87, 88, 161, 162; theology, 53, 79, 88, 168.
 Lombard, 124.
 Lommatsch (ed.), 42.
 Lord's Prayer, 25, 40, 110, 119, 133, 152, 163, 164, 197, 201-3.
 Louis, Emperor, 175.
 Lyons, 33, 104, 105, 116, 176; Council, 183.
 McClure and Feltoe (ed.), 95.
 Macedonian heresy, 36, 43.
 Macon, 112.
 Magistretti (ed.), 133.
 Malachi, 33.
 Manasseh, 10.
 Marcion, 37.
 Marcus Aurelius, 31.
 Mark, St., Liturgy, 58, 63-85.
 Mark of Ephesus, 187-90.
 Marseilles, 128.
 Martene (ed.), 174.
 Martin of Tours, 98.
 Pope, 146.
 Mass, Low, 66; Private, 198.
 Massuet (ed.), 31-6.
 Mauretania, 37, 128.
 Maurianus, 146.
 Meester, P. de (ed.), 91.
 Melchizedek, 38, 132, 142, 147, 150, 176.
 Memento of living, 135, 137, 145, 155, 156, 196; of dead, 141, 148, 155, 173.
 Memorial sacrifice, 9-15, see Anamnesis.
 Merovingian, 112.
 Michael, Emperor, 177.
 Michael Cerularius, 182.
 Milan, 95, 116-18, 123, 124, 129, 132, 142, 151, 155, 179.
 Milevis, 143.
 Mingana (ed.), 73.
 Minimizing, 114, 163, 166-70.
Mishnah, 3-5.
 Missale, 66.
M. Bobbiense, 105.
M. Francorum, 105.
M. Gothicum, 105-10, 113, &c., 149-51, 155, 156, 167, 170.
M. Vetus Gallicanum, 105, 150, 155.
M. Mozarabicum, 99.
M. of Reichenau, 105, 107, 155; of Stowe, 155.
 Mithra, 32.
 Modification of the Institution, 9, 11, 15, 26.
 Mone (ed.), 105, 107.
 Morin (ed.), 127, 142, 143.
 Monimus, 122.
 Monogenes, 20.
 Mopsuestia, 73, 86.
 Moschus, 127.
 Moslem, 100.
 Mozarabic, 66, 98-104, 107, 109, 113, 147, 151, 195.
 Musaeus, 128.
Mysterium, 106-9, 120, 143, 145, 152, 167.
 Name of God invoked, 73, 168; baptism into, 19.
 Names, reading of, 74, 145, 154; see Ante N. and Post N.; diptych.

- Narsai, 75, 79, 170, 185.
 Neale and Forbes (ed.), 105, &c.
 Nerli, Cardl., 194.
 Nestorius, 148; Liturgy, 56, 61, 85.
 Nicaea, 22, 36, 43, 55, 71, 79, 96,
 124, 161, 168, 187.
 Nicephorus, 181.
 Nicetas, 143.
 Nicholas, Pope, 177.
 of Methone, 181, 183.
 Noah, 38.
Nobis quoque, 141.
 Novatian, 70.

 Oblatio, the service, 38, 39, 125, 142,
 143; the Offertory, *q.v.*
 Oesterley (ed.), 5, 6.
 Offerers, 28, 180 (names); 28 (com-
 munion).
 Offertory, 28, 74, 145, 150, 154, 180,
 197.
 Optatus, 117, 121.
Ordo Romanus I, 66.
 Origen, 20, 28, 41-3, 79-82.
 Orleans, 112, 175.
 Otto (ed.), 5, 21.
 Oxford Papyrus, 51, 83-5.

 Palmieri (ed.), 181.
 Parousia, 14.
 Paschasius Radbert, 171, 173, 177.
 Passover, 7-11.
 Paul, St., Eucharistic teaching, 7,
 12-15, 26, 27, 68; salutations and
 doxologies, 20; and Spain, 97.
 Paulinus of Nola, 118.
 Pax, *see* Kiss of Peace.
 Peace-offering, 2, 4, 9, 14.
 Pelagius, St., 98.
 Perron, Cardl., 24.
 Persian Rite, 58, 63, 64, 71, 86, 143.
 Peter of Alexandria, 82.
 Lombard, 192.
 of Poitiers, 192.
 Petilian, 120.
 Pettau, 159.
 Philaret of Moscow, 193.
 Philip the Deacon, 19.
 Philippi, 2.
 Philo, 6.
 Photius, 181, 182.
 Phrygia, 67, 105.
 Pilgrimage, Jewish, 2; Christian, 86.
 Pliny, 30.
 Polycarp, St., 20, 33.
 Pontian, Pope, 95, 134.
 Portugal, 99, 134.
 Post-Confactorium, 133.
 Communion, 106.

 Post- (cont.).
 Eucharistiam, 106.
 Mysterium, 102, 106, 133, 147,
 158, 166, 170.
 Nomina, 106, 145, 149, 154, 155.
 Orationem dominicam, 110.
 Precem, 106.
 Pridie, 102, 106, 114, 115, 147,
 152, 163, 164.
 Sanctus, 106, 108, 114, 119,
 133, 150, 152, 167, 170.
 Secreta, 102, 106, 108, 149,
 163, 166, 167.
 Prado (ed.), 103, 174, 180.
Praeceptis salutaribus, 141, 174.
Praedicatio, 41.
 Prayer-book, Jewish, 7; English,
 First, 195-9; Second, 196-201.
 Preamble, 24-6, 40, 56, 57, 65-8,
 74, 78, 83, 108, &c., 135, 155-60,
 163, 196, 197.
 Prefaces to *Sanctus*, 65-7.
 Prestige (ed.), 27, 36, 43.
Prex, 28, 108, 119, 120, 131, 133, 145.
 Private Mass, 66, 180, 197.
 Proclus of Constantinople, 93.
 Profuturus of Braga, 99, 149.
 Prophetess, 41, 42.
 Provence, 127.
 Psalm-singing, 119.
 Pyrenees, 97, 104.

Quaestiones V. et N. Testamenti, 142.
Quam oblationem, 135, 137, 150, 170,
 171, 174, 176.
 Quasten (ed.), 107.
 Quierzy, 175.
Qui pridie, 106, 108, 152, 157, 191.

 Ravenna, 124, 133.
 Realistic views, 27, 28, 32, 34, 39,
 70, 80, 81, &c.
 Recared, 98, 99.
 Reception, 37.
 Recital of the Institution, 11, 24-6,
 32, 34, 40, 57, 59, 60, 68, 74, 78,
 84, 85, 135, 140, 157, 163, 164,
 170-8, 196-9, 202, 203.
 Redemptus, 102.
 Reichenau, 105, 107, 167.
 Remembrance, *see* Memorial.
 Remesiana, 143.
 Renaudot (ed.), 84.
 Reservation, 37.
 Rhine, 97.
 Rhone, 97, 105.
 Riez, 127.
 Robinson (ed.), 21, 34.
 Roetzer (ed.), 118.

- Rome, 47, 48, 67, 70, 85, 94-7, 105, 116, 134-55, 163-71, 173, 175, 178, 179, 186-91, 193, 194, 197.
- Rouen, 112, 145.
- Rücker (ed.), 73.
- Rufinus, 42, 81, 94, 146.
- Ruspe, 122.
- Russian Catechism, 193.
- Sabatier (ed.), 142.
- Sabbath Kiddush, 7, 8.
- Sacramentary, 65, 66.
- Sacramentum*, 41.
- Sacrifice, Jewish, 1-6; Christ's Institution, 6-11, ch. ii, 13-18, 24-8, 32-5, &c., 155-65, 196-9, 203; S. of thanksgiving, 9, 10, S. of Remembrance, 9, 10.
- Salvian, 128.
- Sancta sanctis*, 143.
- Sanctificatio, 38-42, 44, 46, 167, 176.
- Sanctify, *see* Bless.
- Sanctus*, 48, 56-60, 65, 68, 74, 76, 77, 83, 84, 108, 119, 135, 137, 155, 156, 174, 196.
- Sarapion of Thmuis, 49, 73, 76-8, 81, 85.
- Scheidt (ed.), 72, 73, 172.
- Scherman (ed.), 83.
- Scholastic view of consecration, 192, 196-8, 201.
- Scillitan Martyrs, 37.
- Scotland, Prayer Book, 171, 202, 203.
- Secreta, 106, 108, 152.
- Seneca, 96.
- Sermo*, 39, 130, 176.
- Severus of Antioch, 92.
- Seville, 100.
- Shechem, 30.
- Sibylline Oracles*, 5.
- Sicardus, 177.
- Silva-Tarouca (ed.), 426.
- Silvia (Etheria), 86, 94.
- Singer (ed.), 7.
- Sin offering, 2, 9.
- Siricius, Pope, 97.
- Spain, 86, 96-104, 113-15, 123, 144, 174, 177, 181.
- Sparrow-Simpson (ed.), 202.
- Spirit, H., *see* Trinitarian, ch. iii, *see* Invocation, 42-5, in Eucharist, &c., in general life, 44-6.
- Statutes of the Apostles*, 55-9.
- Stephen, Pope, 40.
- Stieren (ed.), 34-6.
- Stole, 74.
- Stone (ed.), 93, 181 ff., 192.
- Stowe Missal, 155.
- Supplices te*, 139, 140, 152, 170, 185-7, 200.
- Supra quae*, 139, 140, 147, 152.
- Sursum Corda*, 25, 40, 63, 137, &c.
- Swerve, 59, 84, 115.
- Symbol, 80.
- Symeon of Thessalonica, 181.
- Symmachus, Pope, 146.
- Synoptic account, 6, 7, 26.
- Syracuse, 153.
- Syrian Rite, *see* St. James.
- Te Deum*, 20.
- Te igitur*, 65, 135, 137, 152, 156, 177.
- Temple Services, 2-6.
- Tertullian, 37, 39, 70.
- Testament of the Lord*, 55, 60, 71.
- Testaments of the Patriarchs*, 5.
- Thanksgiving, 118, 119, 196, 200.
- Theodore, Nestorian Liturgy, 56.
- of Mopsuestia, 73-5, 86.
- Abbot, 127.
- Theodoret, 82.
- Theodulf, 175.
- Theophilus of Alexandria, 82.
- Theophylact, 181-3.
- Thessalonica, 184.
- Thibaut (ed.), 128.
- Thiel (ed.), 98.
- Thmuis, 76.
- Thompson and Srawley (ed.), 129.
- Time-sequence, 159.
- Tixeront (ed.), 39, 80.
- Toledo, 98, 99, 103, 104; Councils, 103, 112; Sacramentary, 98 ff., 113-15, 147, 167; *Liber Ordinum*, 98; Bp. Hildefonsus, 98, 100, 103.
- Torquemada, 187-90.
- Toulouse, 97, 103, 145.
- Tours, 112, *and see* Gregory.
- Trans-figure, 28, 35, 39, 73, 90, or -form; -late, 167; -fuse, 114, 167, 186.
- Trecanum, 112.
- Trent, 198.
- Trier, 94, 95.
- Trinitarian, ch. iii, 19-23, 25, 31, 42, 45, 80, 53-5, 61, 124, 162-9, 196.
- Tryphon, 30, 33.
- Turin, 133.
- Ulfila, 97.
- Unde et memores*, 133, 139, 152, 157, 164, 174.
- Urban, Pope, 134.
- Vaison, 112, 153.
- Vandals, 97, 122.

- Variation within the Anaphora, 65,
100, 107, 143, 163.
Verbum, *see* Word.
Vere dignum, 65, 137, 156, 163.
Vere Sanctus, 133, 156.
Verona, 47, 55.
Victorinus Afer, 142, 143.
Victorinus of Pettau, 159.
Victricius, 145.
Vienne, 105, 128.
Vigilius, Pope, 28, 99, 134, 144, 145,
149, 173.
Virbonus, 146.
Visigoths, 98-100, 104, 115, 116.
Voconius, 128.
Vulgate, 142.
- Watson (ed.), 39.
Will (ed.), 181.
Wilkins (ed.), 193.
Wilmart (ed.), 151.
- Word, as Person, 35, 36, 77, 89, *see*
Logos; as utterance of God, 35,
36, 42-4, 120.
Dominical Words in general, 85,
87, 92, 102, 103, 108, 109, 111,
146, 160-2, 168, 171-9, 187-195;
as transforming, 88-92, 120, 126-
9; not those of the Institution,
80, 111, 176.
Heavenly Words, 125, 127.
Logos-invocation, 73, 77, 78-81,
82, 87, 127, 168.
Logos term, 39, 43, 44, 78-80,
161, 168.
See also Sermo, 39, 124, 125;
ῥῆμα, 184, 43; and Verbum, 39,
89, 120-3 and *passim*.
Wordsworth (ed.), 7.
Ximenes, Cardl., 99.

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